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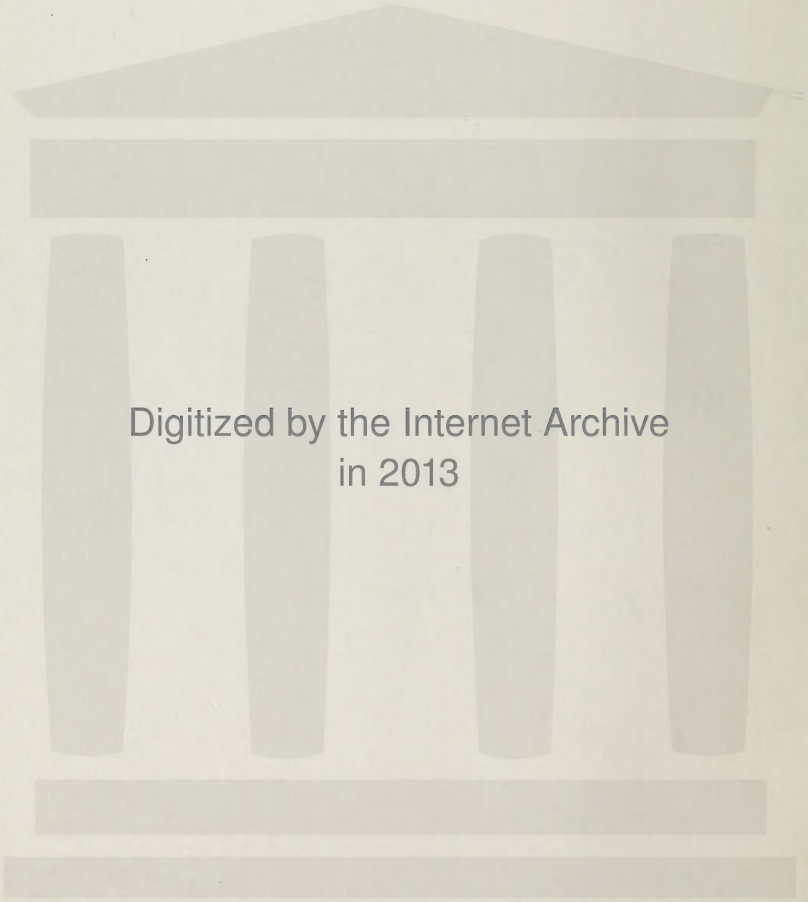
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(BIMONTHLY.)

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METHODIST REVIEW.

JULY, 1895.

ART. I.—A FORTNIGHT ON AN ICELANDIC FARM.

THE peculiar charm of Iceland, to one somewhat acquainted with the old saga literature, is that the modern Icelandic civilization is in most essentials the civilization of a thousand years ago. There are, indeed, differences enough. The people no longer worship Odin and Thor, and they no longer go armed with spear and shield; but in a vast number of particulars they are removed but a step from their Viking ancestors. Fortunately for one whose time in the country is limited, the life of modern Iceland presents few puzzles to a stranger. A visitor to England or France or Germany faces with a certain despair the complex life about him, and is confused by meeting at every turn something new and strange. In Iceland there is assuredly enough that is strange; but the civilization, as a whole, is so simple that even the casual visitor can hardly fail to grasp its salient features.

Iceland is preeminently a land of farmers. From the time of the first settlement the people have found but two chief occupations—farming and fishing. Of the nearly seventy-one thousand inhabitants two thirds are engaged in farming. Even the fishermen not infrequently eke out an existence on what they call a farm. Whoever knows the farm life, then, knows Iceland on its most characteristic side. In thinking of an Icelandic farm we must lay aside most of our preconceived notions about farming; for, in spite of the forty thousand square miles of Iceland, there are not more than two hundred and fifty acres that are really cultivated. Farming consists in

making hay and in raising sheep, cattle, and horses. Such a thing as the rotation of crops never occurs to an Icelandic farmer. He lets the grass grow where it will and takes it as a gift of Providence. In rare cases he raises a few turnips and potatoes, but these may be practically disregarded.

The reason for this narrow range of activity lies, in part, in the poverty of the soil and the rigor of the climate. The truest description of Iceland that I have ever heard came from the bluff and profane old Scotchman who has, for a score of years, lived in Reykjavik and who knows every mountain torrent and every glacier in the country. "Iceland," said he one day, with a pious addition—"there's nothing to see in Iceland. It's nothing but a big cinder that's got cold on top." The entire country is, indeed, a vast volcanic mass about the size of Virginia or Ohio, or more than eight times as large as Connecticut. If we could get a bird's-eye view of the country, we should see a great barren plateau, three hundred miles long at the longest and two hundred miles wide at the widest—the whole elevated at the center more than two thousand feet above the level of the sea. The south coast would present the form of an irregular bow, bending toward the south and broken by few inlets. On the east, the north, and the west we should see deep *fiords* indenting the coast line; and we might learn, according to one estimate, that if we were to sail round the island from one headland to another we should make a voyage of nine hundred miles, while if we followed the windings of the coast we should go more than twice as far. From our height we should look upon plains of barren volcanic sand, inclosing black lakes, with shores hardly tinged with green; upon long, jagged floods of lava, rent by earthquakes; and upon interminable fields of ice and snow, from which would dart gray rivers in terrible cataracts to the sea. Here and there we should note volcanoes, like Hekla or Askja or Krisuvik, and many reddish-brown ash cones, that burned themselves out thousands of years ago. But columns of steam and bursting geysers would still remind us that, if this is a land of ice, it is, also, a land of fire.

Many people imagine Iceland to be exceedingly cold, and they sometimes picture the Icelanders as dressed, even in summer, in robes of fur and as living in houses built of blocks of

ice. But the climate is not so severe as one might expect. During the winter of 1892-93 the frost was almost unfelt, and on the coldest day the mercury stood twelve degrees above zero. In sheltered nooks flowers sometimes bud and blossom in midwinter. Yet Greenland, the land of icebergs, is but a few hours' sail west of Iceland; and sweeping down the eastern coast of Greenland so as to strike the northern coast of Iceland full in the middle is a polar current, which fills every *fiord* on the north and the east with drift-ice that remains till June or July. On the south, the polar current is met by a branch of the warm Gulf Stream. These two great ocean currents are thus in a perpetual struggle for the mastery, and Iceland is the breakwater between them. Whenever the flow of Greenland ice is great the summer is cold and wet. Furious storms of icy rain, accompanied by dense fogs, sweep over the country, stunting the grass and killing every other green thing. Taking the year through, we find that the average annual temperature on the north side of the island is just at the freezing point. In summer it is about 45° Fahrenheit, and in winter nearly 21°. On the south side of the island the average temperature is seven degrees above the freezing point. In July and August I was constantly reminded of our October weather. These are somewhat dull facts, but they are indispensable for a right understanding of the condition of the Icelandic people.

We are now prepared to consider the significance of these facts. The soil of Iceland, as already remarked, is volcanic rock, which has weathered a little, so that in some of the river bottoms and along the *fiords* an attempt at agriculture may be made. The desert of the interior is surrounded by a belt of turf, skirting the ocean. This turf has, at widest, a breadth of less than fifty miles; and where the naked cliffs rise precipitously out of the sea the strip of green has almost no breadth at all. Yet wherever the *fiords* cut into the coast wall we may expect to see bright greensward and, outlined against the hillside, the low gables of a turf-roofed farmhouse, with the thin blue smoke of a peat fire curling above it. The conditions outlined above are realized on most farms in Iceland. We may now turn to a particular farm and study the everyday life a little more closely.

Every visitor to Reykjavik has his attention drawn at once

to the great mountain barrier of Esja, a few miles to the northeast of the town. Anyone standing on the top of Esja might see a narrow trail winding round the bay, round the base of the mountain, and then up the valley on the west side to the farmhouse of Háls. This road I followed, three days after my arrival in Iceland. I had become acquainted at Reykjavik with the farmer from Háls, and had arranged with him to have my luggage taken to the farm in his boat, while I should go on horseback. Promptly at nine o'clock on a Saturday morning, my guide, a dignified man with a patriarchal beard, appeared at the hotel door with two horses. We mounted at once and soon trotted out of the ugly little town. My guide rode ahead, prodding with his heels the flanks of his horse at every step, so as to keep up a trot. When we paused, after an hour or two, to graze our horses the old man showed me his sheepskin breeches, which had the wool inside, and his high sealskin boots, which were lined with fur and tied at the ankle. The boots, he said, cost eight or nine crowns, and the breeches about six.

Two or three hours more of hard riding brought us to a red-gabled farmhouse at the foot of the mountain. Here we obtained a cup of lukewarm coffee and some stale sweet biscuits. It was late in the afternoon when I caught my first glimpse of the great valley through which the brawling Laxá dashes down to the sea. The rugged hills rose, brown and treeless, and part way up the opposite slope was the square, white farmhouse of Háls, with its cluster of farm buildings. We dashed into the river, our horses' hoofs slipping on the stones as we rode between the two falls, and then climbed the bank to the narrow road that led to the house. Five minutes later I was standing in a diminutive bedroom with a single tightly closed window and a bed that occupied one whole side of the room, and endeavoring to see how I might turn without injuring myself or the furniture. The farmer received me very cordially and made me feel at home at once; but most of the rest of the family, in true Icelandic fashion, kept carefully out of sight, and thus afforded me an excellent opportunity to study my surroundings.

Háls valley is a typical Icelandic farming country. On both sides rise impenetrable mountain ridges, perhaps two thousand

feet high, that sweep in great curves to the northeast and make the valley look like a huge oblong bowl with one end broken off. Away to the northwest stretch long fields of snow, contrasting sharply with the black peaks. Through the middle of the broad valley courses the sinuous Laxá, which at length rolls into the *fiord* in two broad, low cascades. Huge columns of basalt form a dike on the brow of the mountain above the farmhouse; but so great is the height that their outlines are but faintly visible from the valley. The play of light and shadow upon these brown hills is almost magical. A hundred times a day I used to watch the sunshine breaking through the clouds and turning them to golden mist. The light was reflected by the glistening snowbanks, until the whole mountain was aglow. Yet the sun was not visible, and I could see only long bars of light that brought out sharply the rugged lines in the cliffs and the bright glint of the turf on the mountain slopes.

The extent of the farm was not easy to estimate. There was no other farmhouse within two or three miles, and the boundaries of the land were not sharply drawn. In all there must have been several hundred acres; but much of the land consisted of long stretches of rock and gravel, with only the faintest trace of green. The group of farm buildings consisted of a story-and-a-half frame house about twenty-four feet square, a shed for storing peat, a detached kitchen, a small blacksmith's shop, used also for smoking salmon, a cow shed, a horse shed, and a hay barn. At two or three different points on the farm were large sheep houses. The farmhouse was a very modern structure, of a type that has appeared within a few years. The older types are more picturesque, if not more comfortable. A New England farmer builds his house, in many cases, fronting boldly to the highway, and places the outhouses, the sheds, and the barns somewhat in the rear. The Icelander builds his house low, rarely more than a story and a half in height, and ranges half a dozen gables, often painted red, side by side, with low connecting walls of turf and stone. A suitable gradation is thus observed. A cow stable or sheep pen may begin the series, and a parlor or guest room may end it. Not infrequently, the farm buildings form an irregular square and at a little distance look like a considerable village. An Icelandic farm is, indeed, almost a village community of itself, and

necessity often makes it sufficient unto itself to a degree unknown on our farms that lie just outside of a town.

The interior of the house was divided on the ground floor into four rooms of unequal size—a narrow kitchen, with a pantry at one end, two sitting rooms, and a tiny guest chamber, which was assigned to me. None of the rooms was plastered; but they had walls and ceilings of painted, matched boards. Sheepskin rugs supplied the place of carpets. The principal sitting room contained upholstered chairs, a sofa with a sloping seat, a table, and two chests of drawers. In one corner was an iron stove, and in another a large clock. Most attractive to me was a case containing about a hundred and fifty books, some in English, some in Danish, but most in Icelandic. In my little room I had feathers to sleep on and feathers to sleep under. There was also a washstand, with bowl and pitcher, a cake of soap, and a well-worn toothbrush that had evidently served more than one visitor. The rooms above were still plainer than those below. They were reached by a narrow flight of stairs, like a ladder, at the top of which was a heavy trapdoor. The upper floor was, indeed, a mere garret, with no ceiling or other finish, and was cut into three sleeping rooms. The first occupied half the space up stairs and contained four beds. Two small bedrooms, shut off by low partitions, used up the remaining space. The partitions were a mark of advancing civilization. As a general thing, an entire Icelandic family sleeps in one long room—master and men, mistress and maids. The old sagas are full of allusions to this custom, which is one of the most characteristic of modern Icelandic life. Decorum is decently observed according to Icelandic standards; but American notions might at first be slightly shocked.

It was in this largest sleeping room that I caught my first glimpse of most of the household the morning after my arrival. I had settled down to read in the sitting room when I heard, shortly after eleven o'clock, a weird sort of crooning from the rooms above. I looked inquiringly at the farmer. He pointed out the word *húslestur*, "family prayers," in a little dictionary and asked if I would like to go up. I said, "Yes;" and we went softly up the creaking stairs. He took a seat on the edge of his bed, and I sat in a chair at the door of his bedroom. The mother was at the service, with her daughter Kris

tín and her five sons. Three or four girls and women and two of the men-servants completed the company. All the older members of the household had psalm books and chanted the strange melody which one of the boys had started. After the psalm was sung Kristín began to read rapidly and monotonously, but with admirable gravity, the prayers for the day. Meanwhile, one of her brothers lighted his pipe and puffed away calmly as he half reclined on his bed in a corner. After the prayers followed another psalm, and in half an hour the service was over.

Of the household we shall get a few glimpses later; but we must now complete our survey of the farm buildings. After the house the most important building was the large hay barn. This was a substantial structure, built partly of wood and partly of courses of stone and turf. As it was placed against the side of the hill, the upper entrance to the haymow was almost on a level with the roof. Hay was almost the only crop at Háls. The few potatoes and turnips raised in the little kitchen garden were hardly worth counting. The haymaking was at its height while I was at the farm. A dozen or more farm hands were at work every day from about seven in the morning till about ten at night. They mowed the grass with scythes having nearly straight blades about two feet long and perfectly straight handles. The steel cutting edge of each scythe was fastened with screws or rivets to the blade. The hayfield was full of little frost hummocks, that rose everywhere, like beaver huts. One might imagine that the farmers would level these mounds; but the Icelanders think that the inequality of the surface adds largely to the amount of the crop. With a quick, jerky movement, the men shaved the grass close to the ground; the women, girls, and boys raked it into windrows, and then tied the dried grass into balls about three feet in diameter, which they slung, like panniers, over the backs of horses. Thereupon a fantastic procession, with the tail of the first horse tied to the head of the second, and so on, zigzagged down the steep hill to the barn. The hay was carried to market in the same clumsy fashion.

Adjoining the barn were the sheds for the cows and horses. These sheds, like the barns, had wooden roofs and walls of stone and turf. In neatness they left something to be desired; but

they were as well kept as many similar buildings in New England. The cattle, of which there were a dozen, were mostly hornless, but not otherwise remarkable. Horse sheds are somewhat less common in Iceland than cattle sheds. Horses are expected to forage for themselves during most of the year, and they are housed only during the most inclement weather. Hay is the usual food; but if the stock runs low it is eked out with heads of dried codfish. The twenty-three horses at Háls were in constant use. Three times within a fortnight the farmer went up to Reykjavik. Like all Icelanders, the farmer's family abhorred walking and depended upon the horses at every turn. Even the children rode perfectly, and seemed to be equally comfortable with or without a saddle. When the farmer's wife went to town she had a great square sidesaddle, like a chair. Yet more than once I saw women and girls riding astride at full gallop, with not even a sheepskin to sit on.

The Icelandic farmer is thrown so much upon his own resources that he is obliged, in spite of himself, to be a jack-at-all-trades. He must be ready at a moment's notice to be fisherman, miller, tailor, carpenter, blacksmith, and saddler. He never thinks the equipment of his farm complete without a little forge and a kit of blacksmith's tools; but fuel is so scarce that he often shoes his horses without heating the shoe to fit it more exactly. I have even seen a farmer pare the hoof with his jackknife and fasten the little iron shoe with ordinary nails and a hammer. The whole process is so simple that anyone can be a blacksmith who looks on once. The manufacture of a packsaddle is quite as easy. One evening, when a thick mist was blowing from the north, I spied the farmer vigorously clubbing something laid over a stone wall. This proved to be a strip of turf four or five feet long, two feet wide, and three or four inches thick. The matted fibers made a tough, coarse felt which was already seasoned to the weather. When the earth was thoroughly beaten out the soft turf, surmounted by a wooden frame, was used as a packsaddle.

The Icelandic ponies have in the course of centuries become well adapted to their surroundings. In appearance they are somewhat lacking in dignity, for they have short, shaggy manes, short legs, and small hoofs. Then, too, they are not so enduring or so long-lived as some other breeds of horses; but perhaps

that is because they are half starved during the winter, and scarcely have time in the short summer to recover their strength before they have to face another season of starvation. Most Icelandic horses do not see a quart of oats or of bran in a lifetime. But the little beasts are wonderfully sure-footed and sagacious. They have become so accustomed to look for rolling stones and inequalities of every sort that they will gallop over a bed of rough lava or a field of bowlders and frost hummocks, where an ordinary American horse would hardly dare to walk. They swim like dogs, but they cannot be induced to go over mire. The gait of an Icelandic pony is not above criticism. He is not usually large enough to walk rapidly and must, therefore, constantly be urged by the heels of his rider into a gallop or a trot. The gallop is easy and delightful; but the trot is at first anything but agreeable. It is neither a run, nor a walk, nor a trot of the ordinary sort, but a rapid succession of spasmodic jerks, like the combined motion of a corn popper and a tack hammer. The Icelander seems not to mind it much; but most Americans find it a very modified form of amusement.

Since everything has to be carried on horseback, one might expect that much attention would be given to improving the roads. But this is not so. Scarcely anything deserving the name of road is to be found on an Icelandic farm. What passed for such at Háls was a narrow path or two, hardly fit for rough carts. To my remark that an American would probably try to make better roads the farmer good-naturedly replied: "What is the use of roads without bridges? Our rivers are generally wide and shallow and have low banks. To make bridges of any value you must have long and expensive approaches and build great piers. Furthermore, you must build a bridge every few miles. The farmers cannot do the work alone, for they have no iron, no wood, and no suitable appliances, to say nothing of the necessary skill. On the other hand, the government cannot undertake the work, for the cost would be more than the farms are worth. What, then, is the advantage in making short roads on a single farm?" I had to admit the force of the argument; but I am satisfied that the farmers could easily combine during the season when farming is impossible and greatly improve the roads. The fords

could be cleared of great slippery stones, the roads could be widened and smoothed. The government has already constructed a few bridges over the most dangerous rivers, but much still remains to be done. Everything counted, the highways are probably inferior to what they were centuries ago.

I might say much more about the horses and the roads, for the difficulty of transportation affects every side of Icelandic life; but I have too long neglected the sheep. The farmer at Háls had three hundred and eighty, and derived from them the greater part of his income. The most elaborate building on the farm was the large sheep house, where most of the sheep were kept during the winter. This was situated half a mile from the farmhouse and was a model of its kind. Unlike the smaller houses, which consisted of a single shed, entered through a narrow door, this was made up of four such sheds, placed side by side and solidly built of stone and turf. Through the middle of each shed was a rack for hay. Back of the sheds was a large hay house, roofed partly with galvanized iron and partly with turf. The hay was brought from the field up a sloping path in the rear and dropped through a hole in the roof. Narrow openings from the haymow supplied the hay to each rack. Within the last few generations sheep raising has become the most important industry in Iceland. Much may be said in its favor; but in the opinion of the most competent judges it has engaged somewhat too exclusively the energies of the farmers. The home market is not what it ought to be. What everybody has nobody wants. Yet it is not surprising that the people are given to sheep raising. The labor is comparatively light during a large part of the year, and so simple that it requires little thought. Moreover, the flocks supply both food and clothing. The sheep have a long fleece of fine wool, almost like hair. The wool is sometimes sheared, but more often plucked out by hand.

At Háls most of the everyday clothing was made on the farm from wool furnished by the farm sheep. The stockings were especially soft, being more like silk than like wool. The dress of the family and of the servants was not very different from our own. Homespun, of course, predominated. The women tied old shawls about their heads while at work in the open air, and they had skirts as numerous as the coats of an onion.

Kristín usually wore a little black silk cap, like an inverted saucer, with a long silk tassel, caught in a silver ferrule, hanging from the center. All the family had soft, pointed shoes, like moccasins, and for cold work out of doors great flapping, two-thumbed woolen mittens. None of the ordinary costumes at the farm were especially picturesque in shape or color, and some were decidedly conventional. When Thorbjörn, for instance, was dressed in his neat Sunday suit of black he looked much like any American farmer's boy. The Icelandic gala gowns are brought out only on great occasions, and even these but faintly rival the costumes of the Dalecarlian peasants, with their marvelous blending of bright colors.

The sheep were milked twice a day, and were usually driven down to the pen by little Helga. This odd combination of girl and witch was very shy. If I stepped outside the house I usually spied her head peeping round a corner at me. She generally wore a shawl over her head and a short skirt, with long pantalets. Accompanied by two dogs, she would dart up the mountain slope and in a few minutes bring the whole flock of sheep, with a wild rush, to the light poles within which the milk-maids were waiting. The milk was drawn into pails, allowed to stand for some hours, and was then made into *skyr*—a kind of soft curd, slightly acid, eaten with cream and powdered sugar, or even perfectly plain. Any one of the family at Háls could consume a huge plateful in a few minutes. What the other food at Háls was we shall see in a moment.

One of the chief difficulties in the way of supplying the kitchen on an Icelandic farm grows out of the scarcity of fuel. In the olden times people living along the coast had the accumulated driftwood of centuries to draw upon. Even yet the sea adds no small increment to the farmer's stock of fuel. But for most purposes wood is imported from Norway, and is far too costly to be burned. While I was at the farm some loads of stunted bushes were brought several miles on horseback for the purpose of smoking salmon, but the wood was almost worthless for fuel. The bushes were about as large as any trees in Iceland; but the largest stems were little more than an inch in diameter. A few families at the seaports use English coal; but the national fuel is peat. Sometimes the people use dried manure. A peat fire is good enough in its way, and the

pungent smoke partly stifles odors that are worse; but, since a hundred or a hundred and fifty pounds of peat are required to do the work of ten pounds of coal, we need not be surprised that food is often but half cooked.

Before I went to Háls I had some misgivings about the food I should find there; but I really fared much better than I had sometimes done on an American farm. My usual breakfast began with boiled eggs, for which, by the way, I was provided with an egg cup and egg spoon. Then came fried mutton, cold salmon, and cold lamb, with brown bread, large, thin crackers, fresh butter, cheese, and tea or coffee, with a pitcher of cream. Supper was much the same, with the eggs and warm meat left out. Dinner always consisted of two courses: first, a thick, sweet soup, much like a pudding, containing tapioca and flavored with wine, raisins, and cinnamon, or a handful of Iceland moss, which has a pleasant but indescribable taste; for the second, there was lamb or mutton, baked or boiled, and, for a change, a boiled fish, with boiled or fried potatoes. Other vegetables and fruits were conspicuously absent. One fact that especially impressed me was that no one but the father and one of the sons ever sat down to eat with me. Kristín would generally bring in the food to the sitting room and indicate, by a curt "Be so good," that the meal was ready; but the women and all the rest of the household ate in the kitchen. In table manners Thorbjörn and his father were irreproachable; but I could tell moving tales of the confusion in many Icelandic minds as to the functions of a knife, a spoon, a finger, a fork, and a toothpick.

With the living at Háls I could find little fault; and I appreciated it more highly while making my trip across country, when I had to put up at any farmhouse that appeared. Now and then I was treated to delicacies of a somewhat doubtful character—large, round, black pancakes, as tender as leather; black bread, that cut like hard cheese; raw, dried codfish, salted and beaten with a stone hammer till the shreds were well separated. A few trials of this convinced me that one might as well chew a handful of salted twine. My most amusing meal was at a farmhouse on the south coast. In the center of the table was the food—a great round heap of codfish, fried in huge chunks. Beside the platter stood a cup containing a mysterious liquid,

which proved to be melted tallow, evidently intended as a faint imitation of drawn butter. At one of the farmhouses a heap of blubber for table use lay just outside my bedroom, and by its fragrance entirely satisfied my appetite. Taken as a whole, the food of an Icelandic farmer of the poorer class is not remarkable for variety; but anyone who is fond of *skyr*, and black bread, and butter that has been melted and kept for several years, and who likes hammered codfish and fried codfish and boiled codfish and baked codfish and chopped codfish, will get on very well.

Thus far we have looked, for the most part, at the externals of the farm life, and have, perhaps, left too little space for considering the people themselves. Yet externals have so much to do with making the Icelanders what they are that we can hardly understand them without having a definite picture of their surroundings. It is difficult to see an Icelander at his best. The country people meet so few strangers that they are painfully timid. For the first two or three days of my stay at the farm I was let alone almost as severely as if I had brought the plague. The farm hands would scurry around a corner to avoid observation, and blush and tremble at being caught in their everyday clothes. The children, especially, would vanish with an elvish shriek if I ventured near them. Little Helga and the boys would climb without fear to the ridge of the barn or cling in sport to the mane of a galloping horse; but not until the newness had worn off would they come near enough to take a stick of chocolate out of my hand. Most of the family, except the father, seemed taciturn, though not ill-tempered. With the daughter I read Icelandic several hours a day. She would answer all my questions pleasantly enough, but she never volunteered a syllable of information and never relaxed her impassive face, except for a half-suppressed laugh. Yet she had spent a year in Copenhagen and was by no means lacking in intelligence. The second son, a boy of sixteen, who was studying at the Latin college in Reykjavik, rarely spoke except when spoken to, and then very briefly. The third son, a lad of fourteen, would often come into the sitting room and stand stock still in a corner for fifteen minutes at a time, without uttering a syllable. He was not sullen—he was only making his manners.

When I came to know the farm hands a little better I found

that they had considerable grim humor; but their faces always seemed to be mourning. They concealed under a stolid exterior a keen curiosity with regard to everything and everybody new. Notwithstanding their apparent taciturnity, they were inveterate gossips, familiar with the scandal and the tattle of remote districts that they had never visited. Whenever a horseman from a distant region dismounted at the door he was mercilessly questioned till he had yielded up all he knew. He in turn cross-examined his questioners. Chance visitors largely supplied the place of the newspaper. After spending a few days at the farm I could easily pardon this irrepressible inquisitiveness; for the daily round was dull enough and afforded small incentive to the household to come out of themselves. Of attempted amusement there was exceedingly little. The children did not even quarrel, as children should; but as they had no marbles or jackstraws or other toys they could hardly be blamed for being good. Kristín used often to play chess with one of her brothers, and she would now and then attempt a little music on the family accordion. The most ambitious entertainment was a dance one Sunday afternoon in the large upper room. This was active exercise enough to keep one warm even in Iceland; but the most partial admirer could hardly call it graceful.

The most constant source of quiet entertainment was reading. Even the farm hands would now and then listen while one of them read aloud the story of Njál or Frithjof or Egil. The farmer and the older children would often pick up a book from the table and busy themselves till some duty more pressing required attention. None of the family spoke English except one of the sons, who had learned a few phrases; but the daughter and two of the sons understood Danish and read Danish ballads and novels and Danish translations of Tolstoi, Daudet, Zola, and Guy de Maupassant, to say nothing of Icelandic stories, histories, and poems. The father was fond of Samuel Smiles's *Thrift*, Herbert Spencer's *Education*, and John Stuart Mill's essay *On Liberty*—all of which he had in Icelandic translations.

My final impressions of the farm life were more favorable than I had dared to expect. I realized, in my fortnight's stay, the charm of a civilization strangely isolated and

primitive, and yet pervaded with much that is best in the thought of the world. But, after all, why should not the Icelanders be civilized? Their ancestors came from Norway and were own brothers to the Normans—perhaps the most brilliant people that Europe saw in the Middle Ages. The first settlers of Iceland were among the best of their race. They produced a literature which, in variety and beauty, was the rival of the French and the Italian. Strange would it be if the Icelanders should utterly forget such ancestry and sink into barbarism. Centuries of privation and of political dependence have left their stamp upon the people and partly broken their spirit. Yet time and again I was impressed with the essential unity of the old life, as I found it in the sagas, and the new life, as I found it on the farm. The family at Háls used in their everyday talk almost the very language of the sagas, and they unconsciously showed that it would be perfectly possible, by making slight verbal changes, to construct from the literature of centuries ago a tolerably accurate picture of the life of the country as it is to-day.

William Edward Mead.

Art. II.—A DOCTRINE OF CIVIL LIBERTY.

The briefest exposition of civil liberty must include a statement of the source of governing power, of the relative rights, under law, of the subjects of government, and of the principle of limitation upon governmental authority. I quite agree with Professor Burgess, in his work on *Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law*, that "mankind does not begin with liberty," but "acquires liberty through civilization." Hence, as he also asserts, "the higher the people of the State rise in civilization the more will the State expand the domain of private rights." Our own recent history strikingly confirms this, in the action of the nation overthrowing slavery. Dr. Lieber declares:

> That civil liberty, or simply liberty, as it is often called, naturally comes to signify certain measures, institutions, guarantees, or forms of government by which people secure, or hope to secure, liberty—unimpeded action in those civil matters or those spheres of activity which they hold most important—appears even from ancient writers.

This comes about as near a definition of civil liberty as his book on the subject contains, though, upon another page, the "conclusion" is reached that "liberty, applied to political man, practically means, in the main, protection or checks against undue interference, whether this be from individuals, from masses, or from government." No aid is given here by the truly great work of President Woolsey on *Political Science*.

For the purposes in view, however, it is sufficient to say that civil liberty is the liberty which comes from, or is found under, civil government. In part, it is created by the civil authority, the remainder arising out of the fact that the civil power exists. To illustrate: civil law confers the right of saying to whom one's property shall go after the owner's death, while its mere existence enables one to pass from place to place unmolested; or, as Professor Burgess states, in discussing the "idea" of "individual liberty," it "has a front and reverse, a positive and negative side. Regarded upon the negative side, it contains immunities; upon the positive, rights." According to this view, then, civil liberty becomes coincident with civil right, in the two forms the latter may assume, of positive

and negative. Civil government, therefore, in what it directly confers upon, and in that which its existence indirectly assures to, its subjects, is at once the measure and muniment of their civil liberties. Hence, it follows that one's civil liberty, in fact, is the body of rights which at the time, under or by virtue of civil law, he enjoys. As a consequence, also, what one's civil liberty should be consists in the rights to which, under or by virtue of civil law, he is entitled. For, as respects the question now before us, the classification of rights into political and civil is not important. They all alike come by law, which in the aggregate of its various forms is the government.

What a right is, in legal contemplation, becomes the first point of inquiry. A masterly work by T. E. Holland, D.C.L., after stating that "jurisprudence is specifically concerned only with such rights as are recognized by law and enforced by the power of a State," says:

> We may, therefore, define a "legal right," in what we shall hereafter see is the strictest sense of that term, as the capacity residing in one man of controlling, with the assent and assistance of the State, the actions of others. *That which gives validity to a legal right is, in every case, the force which is lent to it by the State.* . . . If it is a question of might, all depends upon a man's own powers of force or persuasion. If it is a question of moral right, all depends on the readiness of public opinion to express itself on his side. If it is a question of legal right, all depends upon the readiness of the State to exert its force in his behalf. . . . Moral rights have in general but a subjective support; legal rights have the objective support of the physical force of the State. The whole purpose of laws is to announce in what cases that objective support will be granted and the manner in which it may be obtained. In other words, . . . law exists for the definition and protection of rights.

To the same effect are the recent lectures of that eminent jurist, Judge Dillon, on *The Laws and Jurisprudence of England and America.* He says:

> By legal rights are meant only such rights as are recognized and enforced by the power of the State. The thing to remember is that coercion by the State is the essential quality of law, distinguishing it from morality or ethics.

Speaking generally, the creation of civil government is to be regarded as the act of a body of people constituting a nation, though all may not take part in it. The privilege of participating in that action, as well as in the exercise of the essential

functions of government, is of fundamental importance, however, inasmuch as it involves the question of the true source of governing power. That this may be clear, and in order to find the grounds for a doctrine of civil liberty, we must see what civil government is in its essential elements, together with the principles which should determine its form, the exercise of its functions, and the area over which, as against the will of the individual, its powers legitimately may be extended. Professor Fiske, in his able volume on *Civil Government in the United States*, says:

> Our verb "to govern" is an old French word, . . . *gouverner;* and its oldest form was the Latin *gubernare*, a word which the Romans borrowed from the Greek, and meant originally "to steer the ship." Hence, it very naturally came to mean "to guide," "to direct," "to command." The comparison between governing and steering was a happy one. To govern is not to command, as a master commands a slave, but it is to issue orders and give directions for the common good; for the interests of the man at the helm are the same as those of the people in the ship. All must float or sink together. . . . Government, then, is the directing or managing of such affairs as concern all people alike—as, for example, the punishment of criminals, the enforcement of contracts, the defense against foreign enemies, the maintenance of roads and bridges, and so on.

This clearly states the general objects of government, indicates its relation to society, and is suggestive of what, in itself considered, government will be found to be.

Following out the hint given by the figure that to govern is analogous to the pilot's work in steering a vessel or boat, we may easily find what is essential to the conception of civil government. As all are aware, government in the concrete, or as we see it in operation, is a body of rules which we term laws. In constitutional systems these may have the three forms of organic, statutory, and customary law. Now, as Blackstone long ago stated, law, in its character of civil government, is a "rule of civil conduct." It is also a "prescribed" rule—that is, one that may be known by those who are to be affected by it. Further, it is a rule recognized or declared by the "supreme power in a State;" which can mean only that it is the will or wills of the one or more who may be invested with authority to make law. Finally, this "rule" is made efficient by a "sanction" or "penalty annexed to it," in which, as Blackstone truly remarks, "the main strength and force of a law consists." Hence, we

get the result that civil law, and, therefore, government, is *the published will of a person or persons as to conduct, so supported by power to compel obedience to its dictates as to secure conformity to what it requires; or, in the alternative of disobedience, to inflict adequate penalty.* Consequently, whether the form be that of an absolute despotism or of a pure democracy, there always are present the two elements (1) of a will to be obeyed, when its mandates are known, and (2) of a power to compel obedience thereto or, when disregarded, to vindicate them by penalty. Will declared, then, and power to enforce it are the essential notions in the conception of civil, as of moral, government. All that goes beyond these or is built upon them relates to forms, which may vary from the ideas of the despot to those of the democrat.

Looking out from the ground thus reached, it is clear that to the theist the one instance of a perfect government is the moral government of God; for in this, although obedience is not always secured, the law, when disobeyed, is completely vindicated by penalty absolutely commensurate with desert. Imperfect types of divine government are those of the family and of purely despotic forms in Church or State, as in these the will which makes the law is not itself subject to it. Therefore, as based upon the idea of the essential superiority of the governing, over the subject, will, all these are also autocratic. Here, it may be remarked, was the root of the old doctrine of "passive obedience," which so troubled our English ancestors three centuries ago.

But while, from the conceived perfections of his nature, God rightfully may exercise absolute authority over all the subjects of his will, the imperfections of the best of men obviously invalidate all claim by them to a like power over their fellows in civil government. Hence, in the latter field, the governing wills also must be subject wills. This in later times, indeed, has come to be a postulate of civil authority, though in legal theory our British cousins still hold to the maxim that "the king can do no wrong." What now is sought, however, after denying to any man autocracy in civil affairs, is a principle which shall enable us to say which wills, in a society large enough for a State, ought to be the governing wills. Our fathers took a long step toward the solution of this problem

when they declared that the "just powers" of government are derived "from the consent of the governed;" for this is easily convertible into the proposition that the will of the governed is the government, which under certain limitations, presently to be stated, is true. But they stopped short of stating any principle or, aside from their practice, giving a criterion by which to decide who, of all the subjects of government, must "consent" in order, by force of this utterance, to make its powers "just." In considering this question, children and youth may be dropped out of account because of immaturity, as also for presumable general lack of knowledge and experience. But women still remain, intellectually and morally equal to men; yet they, too, are excluded from the category of governing wills. Now, if this exclusion be not arbitrary, and so savoring of injustice and tyranny, what is the principle on which it depends? To ascertain this the power to compel, or the element of force in government, must be further considered.

As already shown, it is not sufficient merely to will in order to govern. The ability to enforce what is willed must always accompany the volition, potentially, if not in fact, or the latter cannot eventuate in government, however it may operate as influence. Now the rude, harsh instrument of physical force is what alone gives its compulsive power to civil law. So that, at last, civil government is the will, as to conduct, of one or more persons, made efficient to control by means of physical force, actual or potential. "The State," says Woolsey, "acts by authority—that is, by law and constitution; but it is essential that it should have might, which consists of armed men." Thus it ever has been, and so, from the nature of things, will continue, unless government is displaced by a system of mere influence. Washington, it may be observed in passing, perceived the vital distinction between these and clearly marked it. When urged by friends to try to "influence" those engaged in Shays's Rebellion to obey the laws .he wrote: "I know not where that influence is to be found, or, if attainable, that it would be a proper remedy for the disorders. Influence is not government." I further digress to say that, in view of current tendencies and events, the question of how far society may safely go in the substitution of influence for government is one of the most serious of our times. Now, the circumstance that men, and they

alone, furnish government its indispensable element of force gives the principle by which to determine what wills, of all within the nation, should be, and justly are, the governing wills. Those wills which represent the power which constitutes government obviously are the ones that should govern; and these are the wills of men. Stated in other words, the general principle is that the persons who alone, in the last resort, enforce law when resisted, and so give it compulsive power, should make law.

From the foregoing the true conception of government, moral or civil, is seen in essence to be will expressed as to conduct, in union with power to enforce it. The absence of either will or force makes government impossible, while these, united and exerted, always necessarily establish it. The question of popular, as against despotic, government is one of substance, as well as of form. For while, in the latter view, it relates solely to whether the rule or law to be obeyed shall be the expression of many wills or of one only, in the former it goes to the vital point—whether those who constitute the force which gives to government its efficiency shall say what it is to be. The principle, then, that the wills of those in whom resides the might which enforces law are, directly or by representation, its legitimate makers covers the ground. It puts the two essential elements in the conception of government in balance and gives it popular character by defining the source of governing power to which the principle unmistakably points. An eminent English scholar and legal writer of the last century got very close to the truth on the question before us in some noble lines which, though often quoted, may well be given here:

> What constitutes a State?
> Not high-raised battlement or labored mound,
> Thick wall or moated gate.
> No—men, high-minded men,
> . . . . . .
> Men who their duties know,
> But know their rights and, knowing, dare maintain,
> Prevent the long-aimed blow,
> And crush the tyrant, while they rend the chain—
> These constitute a State.
> And sovereign Law, that State's collected will,
> O'er thrones and globes elate,
> Sits empress, crowning good, repressing ill.

Humanly speaking, therefore, the will of the men of a State is the source of all just powers of government. This, however, need not be unanimous. A vital principle of republics is the rule of the majority, for otherwise popular government would be impossible. Thus, we find at once the true import of the clause referred to in the Declaration of Independence and the source of governing power—the first element in a doctrine of civil liberty. It scarcely needs to be said that the three great functions of government, legislative, judicial, and executive, though usually assigned to different persons, are not necessarily so distributed. A despot, like a democracy, as each has done, might act in turn in all these capacities. Hence, whether they shall be devolved for exercise upon different persons is not a problem which essentially affects government *per se*, either in substance or form, but is a question of policy relating to the best mode of doing the necessary work of government. Evidently, therefore, it calls for no further notice in the present discussion.

The next matter to be considered is that of the relative rights in law of those who are the subjects of government. On the principles which have been presented, not all the members of a community can be participants in its civil authority. Some never could be, were women, equally with men, to be regarded as a source of governing power. Young children, alike with the governing class, are citizens and subjects of government. They, also, are entitled to the protection which law affords and to that justice which it is a prime object of government to establish. Yet none will claim that they should have any part in government. What, then, is the principle by which the rights of the nongoverning classes, in common with all, shall be determined? The advancement made in free institutions during and since the Rebellion makes the answer easy. It has become popularized in the simple but expressive phrase, "equality before the law." Properly applied, the principle it embodies bars slavery and all forms of class legislation. With at least approximate fairness, it puts the burdens of government upon all who, under its operation, alike participate in the benefits of government. There is, of course, no ideal perfection here, as probably there never can be in the actual workings of civil authority in any essential particular. More-

over, this principle applies in determining the relative rights, among themselves, of the governing body—the rules by which men may, or may not, have part in government—and requires the same law for all. For example, take the suffrage. Age or intelligence, as a condition for it, must operate to give each one the privilege by the same test. And, as manhood with citizenship is the basis of the franchise, all within that category become entitled, on the principle here involved, to the franchise, if fulfilling the other uniform conditions. There can be no arbitrary exclusions, as on the ground of color or place of birth. The principle of equality before the law, then, is the one by which the relative rights of all the subjects of government may, in the interests of justice, be determined, and so logically becomes the second element in a doctrine of civil liberty.

We come now to the final question, of the area over which government rightly may be extended, as against what otherwise would be the private liberty of the citizen. Assuming its popular form, as expressing the will of its manhood, and that its functions are so exercised as to give equality before the law, what principle shall guide here? As we have seen, government is an agency of a community—its most potent instrument for good, as often as it has been for evil. To it we are individually responsible. In most of the varied activities of life it is simply as individuals that we act. Still, all are, and must continue to be, members of society and, therefore, under the authority of government. As representatively the agent of the whole body for some purposes, how far may it go, consistently with a true civil liberty, in restriction or control of private, individual action? What, if one there be, is the principle of limitation at this point? Plainly, acts seriously injurious to the well-being of society should be restrained, even when directly affecting a single member only. On the other hand, there are a thousand things which all agree must be left to the individual, though his conduct often may be against what is for his own welfare and the good of society, so far as the latter is influenced by him. Here we reach the ground upon which the extremes of socialism and individualism meet in hostile array. The one would take government much farther than in modern times it has gone upon the extended area of private, individual action.

The other, following the lead of *doctrinaires* like Spencer, would greatly narrow the present authority of government, by leaving, for instance, all education, all benevolences for the relief of the helpless classes, with many other things of like nature, to private action, rather than with the State, subject to public control, and maintained by compulsory taxation.

Perhaps any limitation will always be by a movable line, varying with the judgment of each generation, except as experience may show that the general welfare is promoted by keeping it within points which gradually become fixed. But what we now have in view is to get at a principle of limitation, if one there be, to the end of completing a statement of the doctrine of civil liberty. To my mind, after some thought, the matter seems quite clear. In addition to what is necessary for its own preservation, those things, whether of regulation, direction, or compulsion, which society needs to have done and best can do by means of government it is entirely compatible with a true liberty to accomplish in that way. This statement evidently has two branches. First, what is requisite to preserve social order? That, whatever it be, government may do. But beyond this there are many things of general necessity and that better can be done by government than by private individuals. Those things, also, it may legitimately do. We find, then, that the proper scope of government is (1) the preservation of social order and (2) the conducting of such matters of common interest as it can manage to greater advantage for the community than could private persons. The principle of limitation on the powers of government, therefore, becomes obvious. Except what is necessary for the conservation of order and those things of public need which government is the more efficient medium for doing, all the movements of society, social, industrial, or religious, belong to the voluntary action of the individual; and the authority of government, by a true doctrine of civil liberty, is restricted accordingly. Until much now in debate has been settled by experiment there will be differences of opinion, no doubt, respecting the application of the principle thus brought out. For example, how far, on the ground of social order, government properly can go in controlling the sale, and even the manufacture, of intoxicating liquors, is a question which still excites controversy. Upon the other

hand, government ownership and operation of the great lines of railroads, with, perhaps, other instrumentalities of general use and necessity, and the extension thus of the authority of government where, in this country, private control has heretofore been the rule, is a proposition already before us, on which, ere many years, we will likely be compelled to pass. The apparent tendency is to the opinion that both are within the proper sphere of governmental action, the really debatable questions touching merely time and mode. So far as concerns a true doctrine of civil liberty, it is difficult, if not impossible, to say that this tendency is wrong, though much in practical objection can be said against it.

Our discussion, manifestly, has conducted to the conclusion that a sound doctrine of civil liberty may briefly be stated in three general propositions: 1. The true source of governing power is the properly expressed will of the men of a nation. 2. The relative rights of the subjects of government are determined by the rule of equality before the law. 3. Government is limited in its powers to such action as may be necessary to preserve social order, and to affairs of a public nature which it can better manage than could private persons. The first gives to government its popular character and presents the true antithesis to monarchic, oligarchic, and aristocratic systems. The second prevents the rule of the governing class from degenerating into tyranny, and so conserves justice, the great end of government. The third adjusts the balance between the freedom of the individual, as such, and the control over him, as an integral part of the social organism, which the governing body may exercise. Tried by this doctrine, governments which rest upon the consent of the governed, whose subjects are equal in fact before the law, and whose powers are kept within the limits stated are in the fullest sense free, while those which trench upon liberty at either of these points are not.

Miriam L. Sibley

Art. III.—GLIMPSES OF WORLD-WIDE METHODISM.

That Methodism has become, in the most literal sense, world-wide is certainly cause for devout thanksgiving to the Almighty. God has most assuredly been glorified and the world made better wherever it has gone. Spreading East, West, North, South by the inevitable law of Christian expansiveness, it has increasingly taken possession of the earth, until now there is no section of the globe but has felt its influence, and at a moderate computation fully twenty-seven millions of people are being molded by its institutions.* Exactness in the matter of such figures it is idle to affect, since the numbers change each month, and some of the items entering into them can only be more or less accurate estimates; but the following tables have been prepared with much care—using the latest *Methodist Year Book*, the United States Census for 1890, with Dr. Carroll's additions for 1894 in the *Independent* of January 3, 1895, and other reliable authorities—and they are believed to be substantially correct. The total number of communicants in world-wide Methodism, including traveling preachers, lay members, and probationers, is about 7,440,000. They are divided in respect to Church organizations as follows:

Wesleyan Methodists	750,000
Primitive Methodists	200,000
Welsh Calvinistic Methodists	125,000
Other Methodist bodies of Great Britain	170,000
Methodist Episcopal Church	2,700,000
Methodist Episcopal Church, South	1,500,000
African Methodist Episcopal Church	525,000
African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church	425,000
United Brethren	250,000
Methodist Protestant Church	170,000
Evangelical Association	160,000
Colored Methodist Episcopal Church	130,000
Minor Methodist bodies in the United States	75,000
Methodist Church of Canada	260,000
Total	7,440,000

* This total is reached through multiplying by three and a half the communicants in the Methodist Churches of the United States, and multiplying by four and a half the communicants in the Methodist Churches of Great Britain and Canada, where the conditions of membership are somewhat stricter.

The division as to countries gives the following result:

United States	5,765,000
United Kingdom	970,000
Canada	270,000
Australasia	110,000
Asia	100,000
Africa	95,000
Continental Europe	60,000
West Indies	60,000
Mexico, Central and South America	10,000
Total	7,440,000

To give any adequate idea of what the different Methodisms have done in these various lands would far surpass the limits of an article like this. But it may be possible to afford some interesting glimpses of the work achieved and the methods of its accomplishment. To bring the sketch within any kind of manageable bounds we shall have to ignore the older, central seats of Methodism, concerning which so much is constantly being written, and confine our attention to the newer developments in distant regions. In short, we shall deal exclusively with Methodist missions. And, still further to narrow the theme, our own missions, with which the readers of this *Review* may be presumed to be familiar, must be set aside, and those of the other Methodisms briefly touched upon.

Of the thirty-one recognized bodies of Methodists, sixteen, or just about half, including, of course, all of any special importance—twelve of the others have less than fifty thousand communicants, all told—have foreign missions. Six of these sixteen are across the sea, nine are in this country, and one is in Canada. The Methodist Church of Canada has missions in Japan and West China, the latter only just begun. The Wesleyans of Great Britain, after having had the pleasure of setting off as independent, though affiliated, bodies the French, South African, West Indian, and Australasian Conferences, maintain missions in India, China, Africa, and Europe. The United Methodist Free Churches are at work in Australia, New Zealand, Africa, China, and the West Indies. The Primitive Methodists are in Australia, New Zealand, and Africa; the Bible Christians in the two former countries and in China; the New Connexion Methodists in China only; and the Welsh Cal-

vinistic Methodists in India and Brittany. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has missions in Mexico, Brazil, China, and Japan; the United Brethren in Germany and Africa; the Evangelical Association in Europe and Japan; the Methodist Protestants in Japan; the Wesleyan Methodists in Africa; the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Africa and the West Indies; the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church in Africa; and the Free Methodists in India, Africa, Europe, and the West Indies. Of the 430,000 communicants assigned to these mission lands, the Wesleyans have gathered about 250,000, and the Methodist Episcopal Church about 125,000, leaving only 55,000 to be divided among the other fourteen denominations. But the work of some of these minor Methodist bodies has been in every way creditable and successful, though, from lack of means or recent entrance on their fields, not very much fruit has yet been gathered.

In China, for example, the New Connexion Methodists have a very prosperous mission, which stands second in point of numbers among the seven Methodist missions at work in the Celestial Empire and ranks easily in the first third of the forty Protestant organizations. Their headquarters are at Tien-Tsin, which they entered in 1860. But their chief strength is one hundred and forty miles south of this, in the Shan-Tung province. The beginnings there in 1866 were very remarkable. An old man, Chu Tien Tsiun by name, a village farmer, feeling deeply his sinfulness and "being warned of God in a dream," came to Tien-Tsin to inquire about a remedy fors in which he had incidentally heard was preached there. He was directed to the Methodist chapel in the main street of the city, and soon became an earnest believer in Jesus. Returning home, he spread the good news; and when the missionary, after a little, followed he found one hundred and forty persons desiring to receive baptism. People came to the village from a distance of twenty-three miles and spent Sunday to hear the Gospel—a thing unknown before in China. It was manifestly a movement from the Lord, with very little of human agency in it. The whole district was stirred. Rooms for public worship were fitted up on all sides, without expense to the mission. Persecution was bravely borne, and noble testimonies were given to the power of divine grace. It was the most glorious awakening which China

had up to that time experienced. The terrible famine which descended upon the Shan-Tung province about ten years after this redounded to the glory of God, and 1877 and 1878 proved revival years. Several hundred, residing in one hundred and twenty villages and towns and very carefully selected from the multitudes of inquirers, were added to the Church. In 1881 the membership had reached 1,319; and all opposition seems now to have ceased. "We have a free field," write the missionaries. "We may even stand on the steps of the heathen temples and, in the very hearing of the priests, denounce in unsparing terms the idolatry of the country." The mandarin at the city of Lao-Ling, the head of the district, on being applied to to stamp the deeds of some land purchased by the mission, remitted most of the usual fee and said:

> I wish, before leaving this district, to make some acknowledgment of my indebtedness and thanks to the teachers who have come from the great English nation and have not only, by large distributions of money in the recent calamity, saved thousands of my people from actual starvation, but by the teaching of the holy religion of Jesus have raised the tone of the moral, social, and public character of the people. It is only fair to say that I have less trouble from Christians than from others. Allow me to take the bare sum to be paid to the government, and to ask you to take back the remainder as a token of my high respect for the good you have done to my countrymen.

The magistrate who succeeded this man showed himself equally friendly, taking pains at New Year's to come to the missionaries in his official capacity and wish them all the blessings of the season. In 1891 they received thirty-nine invitations to open preaching houses in various places, the letters in each case being signed by from twenty to one hundred people. Services were established in twenty of these places. The inhabitants of one village made over to the mission the whole of their temple property, worth £87. The membership is now considerably over two thousand. And the missionaries unitedly declare that their success "has been due to the character and ability of the native workers God has given to us, more than to any other single cause." Some of the preachers have shown most remarkable devotion, enthusiasm, and good judgment. Both their gifts and their piety have commanded the respect and admiration of all who have met them.

Among the nine Methodist bodies toiling to enlighten the Dark Continent the United Brethren in Christ stand second in point of numbers gathered, quite distancing the Methodist Episcopal Church, which is surpassed, also, by the United Methodist Free Churches, as well as by the Wesleyans. The United Brethren landed on Sherbro Island, off the coast of Sierra Leone, in 1855. Their main station, however, is at Shaingay, on the mainland near by, where after long struggles they became well established. Almost nothing was done—only two converts baptized—until 1871, when the right man for the place appeared in the person of Mr. Joseph Gomer, a layman from Dayton, O. The chief, Thomas Stephen Caulker, who had been hitherto more or less hostile, now wholly changed his attitude and in a short time publicly professed faith in Christ. Many followed his example; and, though he lived only a few months after his conversion, the prospects of the mission were completely altered. His son, George Caulker, continued the policy of his father and, though not himself a Christian, rendered hearty assistance, often acting as interpreter at the Sunday services, for which his education in England rendered him most capable. Things now moved on apace. A new stone chapel, costing $3,000, was completed at Shaingay in 1875. In the same year the Mohammedans, who had projected a war for the express purpose of destroying the influence of the Gospel, were signally defeated, and the mission was correspondingly strengthened. The people said, "God done take the country." In 1883 the American Missionary Association, deciding to withdraw from its foreign work, turned over its Mendi mission to the United Brethren, and this, of course, much increased their sphere. In 1885 the missionaries were sowing the Gospel seed in 294 towns; the membership was 1,526. Mention is made of sixty raw heathen who walked several miles near the hour of midnight and awoke one of the missionaries, to have him tell them of Christ. He had preached in the evening to about thirty persons, among whom were a couple of men from a neighboring town. They went home after meeting and told what they had heard, which so interested the people that sixty of them started back forthwith. They waked up the missionary, saying they wanted to hear "that same God-word" he had spoken a few hours before, and they feared he would be gone

before they could get there in the morning. He, of course, dressed himself, got a light and his Bible, and preached, to the great delight of the people and the joy of his own heart; for the Master was there. Bishop Kephart, after thoroughly inspecting the work in 1893, declared, and apparently with good reason, "I am confident that no other denomination having missions in Africa has accomplished nearly so much with an equal amount of means as our Church has." Only three missionaries have died in this mission in the whole forty years of its history—a record without a parallel. One reason for this and, also, for the exceptional success achieved has been that the workers have been mostly colored men of a remarkable grade of ability. Mr. Gomer, who died in 1892, having been in the service twenty-two years, nearly all the time as superintendent of the mission, was an invaluable worker. His African descent explains his long endurance of the climate. Another strong man, who long served as presiding elder and head of the training school, was the Rev. Daniel F. Wilberforce, one of the converts of the mission, who was brought to America as a boy in 1871, well educated, and sent back in 1878. He is now ruler of quite a section of the country, having been by inheritance legal successor to the position. One of the principal stations is in charge of Mrs. Thompson, a daughter of the late Bishop Crowther. Another principal worker is Mrs. Lucy Caulker Curtis, daughter of the old chief. There are now about six thousand members in the churches, and four hundred and nineteen appointments. The territory occupied by the society covers seven thousand square miles. The appropriation by the board to its African mission for the current year is $7,000.

The United Methodist Free Churches have nearly five thousand communicants in Africa, divided between the west and the east. Over four thousand of these are in Sierra Leone. But it is on the east coast, among the Gallas, where operations were begun, not far from Mombasa, in 1862, under the lead of Dr. Krapf, that interest has of late years chiefly centered. The terrible Masai, the devastators of all that section, have greatly hindered the work. In 1886 they murdered the missionary at Golbanti, Mr. Houghton, and also his wife, destroying, indeed, the whole station. But it was built up again more substantially than before, with a stone house and stockade able

to resist attacks. The Somalis, also, have shown great hostility and made repeated onslaughts. Their last one, in 1894, was repulsed by the prowess and powerful weapons of a number of Englishmen in the neighborhood, aided by armed natives. Full security will not be reached until the English power is completely established in all this region. The mission of the Free Churches in China has also done well. It has as many communicants as the Wesleyan mission, though at least thirteen, if not sixteen, years younger, being practically founded in 1868, when the Rev. F. W. Galpin reached Ning-Po. It is at this city, one of the open treaty ports south of Shanghai, and at Wen-Chow, about two hundred miles further down the coast, that the missionaries have chiefly labored. In 1884, during the great anti-foreign riot, the mission property was totally destroyed, and the missionary himself narrowly escaped death. But the native Christians spent the whole night praying for their beloved teacher, and openly worshiped God in their own homes on the Lord's day while their chapel was still smoldering in the half-extinguished flames. Some, indeed, were led to accept Christianity from what they witnessed of the noble bearing of the Christians on that terrible night of peril. In the following year, the prospects being just then anything but bright, Mr. Soothill could think of only one thing in the line of further consecration that might possibly be desirable—the adoption of the native dress. Mr. Chang, his one reliable native helper, when spoken to about this, replied, "Please don't; we have enough to bear without that; appear in your true colors; pray, wear your own clothes;" which he did.

The Methodist Church of Canada, whose only foreign mission until three years ago was in Japan, has done very well there, having about two thousand communicants, or half as many as the Methodist Episcopal Church, and considerably more than the other three Methodist bodies (the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the Methodist Protestant Church, and the Evangelical Association) combined. It entered in 1873, the year our work was begun, but has had nothing like as much money to spend. It puts out on its mission about $25,000 yearly, while we appropriate $60,000. The first convert at Tokio, baptized within a year from the beginning, was the principal of the normal school for the education of schoolmistresses

in Japan, who is described as "an eminent Chinese scholar and a gentleman of the highest social standing." He became the leader of the first Methodist class formed in Japan. Other excellent native preachers were speedily raised up, who have been a prime factor in the prosperity of the mission. One of them has for some years been chairman of a district. Another, in 1880, reporting on the sisters of his charge, quaintly says: "They, old and young, are nice and quiet, but strong in the Lord. They trust in Jesus, all pray earnestly, help mutually from their falling, push themselves toward perfect holiness, comfort each other, and talk of their love of God with tear and cheer." In 1889 an Annual Conference was organized, with three districts (since increased by one), sixteen appointments, and thirty-four members to be stationed.

The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, while fairly successful in its Japan, China, and Brazil missions, has laid out much more money and reaped much more fruit in Mexico, where it has almost twice as many converts as in the other three countries combined. The two great Methodist Churches of the United States began practically at the same time, early in 1873, their combined attack upon the superstition, ignorance, and immorality of "our next-door neighbor," waging a peaceful war of words and kindly deeds where twenty-five years previously hostile bayonets had gleamed and hot cannon thundered. They have cooperated with great harmony ever since and have had very similar success. Together they reach nearly every State of the republic, from El Paso on the north to the Isthmus of Tehuantepec on the south, and from the Pacific Ocean to the Gulf. The work of the Church South is divided into three Conferences—that of Central Mexico (organized in 1886, and reporting for 1894 2,500 members), that of the Mexican Border, largely in Texas (organized in 1885, with 1,606 members), and that of Northwest Mexico (organized in 1890, with 757 members). If the border work of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as represented by its New Mexico Spanish Mission Conference, with 2,105 members, be added to that of its Conference in central Mexico, the total will be 5,190, over against the 4,863 in the above-named three Conferences. Many interesting instances of persecutions bravely endured might easily be given, but the limits of our article forbid.

Leaving the important work of the Primitive Methodists in Africa, both on the west coast, at Fernando Po, and in the south, at Aliwal and on the Zambezi, together with the hopeful beginnings of the Bible Christians in connection with the China Inland Mission, in the province of Yun-Nan, and the splendid triumphs of the Welsh Methodists on the Cossyah Hills in northeast India, we must devote the remainder of our space to the grand achievements of our Wesleyan brethren. Many volumes could not do justice to their exploits. Africa, India, and the South Seas are their principal fields at present. A former generation saw noble deeds accomplished in the West Indies, where the work dates from the days of Nathaniel Gilbert, Esq., the first Methodist of that region, who held religious meetings in Antigua in 1760; and from the days of Dr. Coke, who was blown to those shores in 1786. There were 20,000 Wesleyan Methodist communicants on the islands in 1815, 43,000 in 1839, and 53,000 in 1850. There are only a little more than that number now. For the past forty years there has been scarcely any growth. The moral, as well as material, condition of the people has been, and still is, far from satisfactory, so that we do not now turn in that direction when we are wishing to give sketches of thrifty Church life.

The same must be said, if the truth is spoken, concerning a part of the work among the blacks in Africa. The old Sierra Leone and Gambia missions, started in 1811 and 1821, have not of late years been progressing. In the Gambia district, in 1839, there were nearly 600 Church members; at the beginning of 1893 there were 489. In Sierra Leone, in 1852, there were 6,192 full members; in 1893 there were 5,894. The chief trouble seems to be that, while the climate has been fearfully destructive of European health and life, practically prohibiting any protracted stay, few, if any, natives of sufficient ability to properly push the work have been raised up. In the first twenty-eight years of the Sierra Leone mission the lives of twenty Wesleyan missionaries were laid down for Christ. In the course of fifty years sixty-three Wesleyan missionaries and wives of missionaries fell sacrifices to the climate of West Africa. Some lived but a few weeks after their arrival, others a few months. On one occasion, in less than six months there were eight deaths from yellow fever. But there was no trouble in

filling vacancies. "I beseech you, by the blood of souls, not to hinder me from going," cried one to his parents when they objected, and the objections were withdrawn. Another, William Rowland Peck, when his mother said, "Rowland, if you go to western Africa you will be the death of me," replied, "Mother, if you do not consent to my going to Africa you will be the death of me." So, after much prayer, she consented, saying, "I see it is of the Lord, and I will not resist his will." He lived only six months. "Nothing," said he, the day before his death, "grieves me so much as the thought that my death will cause the hands of our friends in England to hang down." In later years the period of service has been longer and the deaths have been much fewer. Nevertheless, for some reason, though many experiments have been made, a proper native agency has not been found, and the churches suffer in consequence. Amanda Smith, in her autobiography, reluctantly bears witness to the same rueful fact, that "the colored missionaries are not men that can be depended upon to advance and develop the work. . . . When the whole work is left to them the interest seems to flag."

The missions a little further south, on the Gold Coast, have for some reason done much better. It was here that the Rev. T. B. Freeman, a colored man who proved to have staying power, labored from 1838 to 1890. His great natural ability and thorough education, all sanctified by quenchless zeal, rendered him an invaluable worker; and to his endeavors much of the great success of the mission can plainly be traced. His courageous visits to Coomassie, the capital of Ashantee, rendered his name very familiar to the Christian public of England and America fifty years ago. He planted a thrifty Gospel tree in that dark land; but the breaking up of the Ashantee kingdom by Sir Garnet Wolseley in 1873 pretty effectually destroyed Christian opportunities in that special direction. But at Lagos and Abbeokuta there have been large results. The Gold Coast mission celebrated its jubilee in 1885 with great enthusiasm. The work had grown to be self-sustaining, except on the more recently established stations. The total yearly native expenditure at that time was £4,000, only £450 being received from London to be applied to newer work. On the Cape Coast section alone a jubilee fund of £10,000 was raised; and in connection with

the celebration scores of heathen turned to the living God. There were then 6,778 members. They have since grown to 10,086, with the children in the Sunday schools. This is progress of a most unquestionable kind.

In South Africa, also, where Barnabas and William Shaw began operations eighty years ago, there has been great prosperity. Here the climate has been favorable, and the population has steadily increased. The baptism of Chief Kama in 1825 gave a great impetus to the mission. For fifty years he maintained his integrity against all seducers and opposers, furnishing a noble illustration of the power of divine grace. He was the first Christian Kaffir chief, and up to a few years ago, at least, the only paramount chief in southern Africa connected with any Christian Church. His son, William Shaw Kama, was for many years a missionary to the heathen and a regular member of the Conference. Since his father's death he has filled the position of chief with great acceptance and usefulness. Connected with another family of Zulu chiefs was a very successful evangelist, Charles Pamla. When the Rev. William Taylor conducted his marvelously fruitful evangelistic campaign along the coast, from Cape Town to Natal, in 1866, Pamla was his right-hand man, his constant interpreter, and a large portion of the result was plainly due to his agency. About seven thousand additions were made to the churches. The first session of the South African Conference was held in 1883, there being then 20,739 members. At present there are in the Conference about 57,000, besides 5,713 more in the Transvaal and Mashonaland districts, which are still administered directly from London.

The Ceylon mission, begun in 1814, will ever be thought of in connection with Dr. Coke, who gave his life for it. It has been fairly prosperous. Scarcely more than that can be justly claimed, since after eighty years' existence it has on its four districts less than five thousand members, including those on trial, and is only in small part self-supporting. On the continent of India, also, where work was begun in 1817, the mission was but feebly maintained and no very marked progress was made for fifty years. The net results of half a century of labor on the Madras, Mysore, and Calcutta districts was only about five hundred members. The native membership to-day, in the entire

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northern part of the country, including the Burmah, Calcutta, Lucknow, and Benares districts, amounts to less than six hundred, with about as many more English communicants. But in the Nizam's dominions in the south, entered in 1879, a more fruitful opening has been found. Baptisms by hundreds are yearly reported, the actual membership is over two thousand, and more than three thousand, in ninety-three towns and villages, are connected with the mission. This has come about largely through the zeal of the new converts, eager to make known to others the joys of their faith. As many are now ready to be gathered in as the force of teachers can properly instruct; and this single district—the Hyderabad—seems likely to have in a short time more Wesleyan members than all the rest of India together.

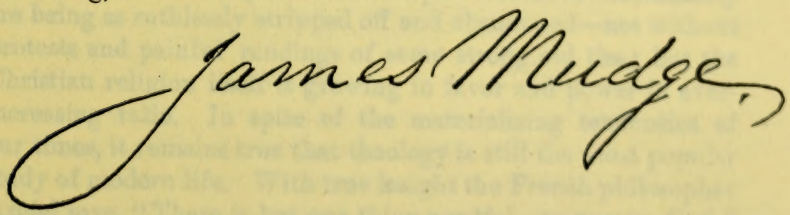
The work among the savage Maoris of New Zealand, entered upon in 1822, formed a chapter of thrilling interest in the days of our fathers, and marvelous transformations were wrought. But, now that that noble old race has so nearly departed from the face of the earth under the cruel impact of civilization, there is, of course, but little of importance to relate concerning them. In 1855, when the Australasian Conference was formed and the New Zealand missions passed under its control, there were 3,070 Maori Wesleyan members against 508 European, and 7,590 Maori adherents. At present there are only 548 Maori members and probationers, with 3,460 attendants on worship. No pains are being spared to win them to Christ, and the membership has almost doubled in the last six years. There are about 9,000 English members.

The triumphs of the Wesleyan missionaries in the South Seas are of undying fame, and are known to all who have acquaintance with such things. The names of Walter Lawry, Nathaniel Turner, William Cross, David Cargill, Charles Tucker, John Hunt, James Calvert, James Watkin, Robert Leyth, and John Waterhouse, whom God so marvelously blessed in Tonga and Fiji, the Christian Church will forever honor. The struggle in both groups was severe; but the baptism of King George, of Tonga, in 1830, and the submission of King Thakombau, of Fiji, in 1854, were the turning points of triumph, after which matters moved on with speed. King George proved to be a man of superior judgment and ability and unswerving

religious principle, thoroughly converted, and every inch a king. He served for many years as a regular local preacher and won great numbers to Christ. The Rev. Robert Young, of England, who spent some time in the islands in 1853, testifies that during the three months he was with King George he never heard a foolish word drop from his lips, nor did he see anything in his spirit or deportment inconsistent with the most entire devotedness as a disciple of Christ. The king died in 1893, at a very great age. Twenty-five years ago it was announced that not one heathen remained in any of the Friendly Islands. The mission had become, not only self-supporting, but a generous contributor to the funds of the Wesleyan Missionary Society. King Thakombau, baptized in 1857 under the name of Ebenezer, lived a life of good works and died in great triumph in 1883. His last audible prayer was, "Hold me, Jesus! My faith in thee is firm." His country passed, with his full consent, in 1874, under the rule of Great Britain, and is now almost wholly Christian. The Wesleyans have on these Fiji Islands, according to the latest report, 849 churches, 475 other preaching places, 11 missionaries, 69 native ministers, 52 catechists, 1,117 teachers, 2,325 school-teachers, 2,064 local preachers, 3,680 class leaders, 30,583 full members, 5,299 on trial, 7,431 catechumens, 36,675 scholars in Sunday schools, and 99,031 attendants on worship. There are, also, in Samoa 2,274 communicants and 6,365 attendants. In New Britain, New Ireland, and New Guinea the same blessed changes are being accomplished under the efforts of faithful men, mostly native helpers from Fiji and Samoa, who count not their lives dear unto them. Thirteen thousand attendants on public worship are reported from these places, and over twelve hundred members.

Very hurried has been this survey of Methodist mission work. Very brief have been the glimpses that could be allowed. The door has been opened but a crack, and then hastily shut. Our readers would, perhaps, have been wearied had we asked them to go with us over Europe, where, in Russia, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Bulgaria, Methodist hymns are sung and the Gospel according to Wesley is preached; had we introduced them to the missions in Korea, north, south, west, and central China, Malaysia, Australia, and South America; had we tried

to familiarize them with the five Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church in India, on which God has so marvelously poured forth his Spirit that by many in America it seems to be in no wise believed, however explicitly the most trustworthy eyewitnesses may declare it unto them. To make our sketch at all complete we should have had to include Honolulu, Havana (where the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has a station), Patagonia (where the Welsh Methodists have four churches), Central America, Bermuda, the Balearic Islands, Malta, Cairo, Algeria (where the French Wesleyan Conference is striving to evangelize the Kabyles), and the wild northlands of British America. It is far easier to say where Methodist missionaries are not than where they are. They have girdled the globe. They are attempting still greater things for God, venturing on new enterprises in the name of Jesus all the time. They are confident that they have the truth which the nations need. It is only about a century and a half since the founder of Methodism started forth with his message. If in that time twenty-seven millions have been gained, besides the millions sent to heaven, what enormous hosts ought to be enrolled in the century before us, and will be if we are faithful to our great trust! Not pride and gratulation should be the emotions called up by such summaries of facts and figures as the foregoing, but thankfulness, humility, and a more earnest girding of the loins for greater endeavor, that the fathers may have no occasion to be ashamed of their sons, and that the future, even more than the past, may redound to the glory of God, in the salvation of countless souls through the labors of a consecrated, vigilant, flaming, world-wide Methodism.



Art. IV.—LIBERALISM—TRUE AND FALSE.

The Middle Ages have been called the "ages of faith," by way of contrast to the modern era, which began with the Reformation and which has been eminently scientific and rationalizing in its spirit. When the spirit of mediæval devotion culminated in the fourteenth century western Europe was a veritable theocracy. Kings and emperors received their crowns as humble vassals from Christ's vicegerent. The authority of the Church was supreme in every department of thought or activity. It was a civil, as well as an ecclesiastical, crime not to be orthodox. It is a gross mistake, however, to call these dark centuries the ages of faith, unless we degrade the word "faith" until it mean nothing higher than superstition. Except a very small and unworthy minority in the Roman Catholic Church, no Christian to-day looks back to those days as a time of success or supremacy for true Christianity. It was the dark and barren seedtime of truth. Ours is an age of greater faith—of faith more intelligent and fearless. We do not immure men and women in convents to keep them orthodox. We have more faith than the mediæval Church had in the power of Christ over individual lives.

Christianity has nothing to lose, but everything to gain, from the scientific, rationalizing spirit of modern times; its enemies themselves being judges, it flourishes in greater vigor the more the intellect and conscience of men are liberated. Outworn scientific theories are hurried into their graves without remorse every year. Misinterpretations and perversions of Christianity are being as ruthlessly stripped off and abandoned—not without protests and painful rendings of some strong old ties; but the Christian religion itself is growing in favor and power in ever-increasing ratio. In spite of the materializing tendencies of our times, it remains true that theology is still the most popular study of modern life. With true insight the French philosopher Amiel says, "There is but one thing needful—to possess God." Every age must find its definition of God. We are entering upon a dawning age of what we may call brotherhood—if "socialism" be an offensive word. The fierce individualism which has made the nineteenth century great is leading us into

a greater age of fairer and freer living. Questions of humanity are the absorbing interests of these times; and whenever a question of humanity is raised it is invariably associated and identified with a question of theology. Anthropology and theology are always inseparably connected, because God and man are as intimately related as father and son.

Questions of theology, then, are to-day, as always, of surpassing popular interest. Moody and Ingersoll each draws great audiences. Both are teachers of a theology—one positive, and the other negative—and people of widely divergent views listen to their favorite teacher. Questions of theology, interpretations of life from a religious standpoint, enter into and color all our literature. The fiction of the last fifty years is strongly flavored with theological discussion. George Eliot broods continually, in a sad, hopeless way, over these things. In Dinah Morris she has drawn a character of such pathetic beauty and invested with such unusual dignity that one might be led to think that its creator must be a very champion of orthodox evangelicism. Such a character shows how tenderly and longingly this great woman clung, with her heart, at least, to her earlier faith. At other times she seems to lose all hope of a conscious immortality, and sings that ode, so atheistic in thought, but so full of the Christian spirit of altruism—

> O may I join the choir invisible
> Of those immortal dead who live again
> In minds made better by their presence—live
> In pulses stirred to generosity,
> In deeds of daring rectitude, in scorn
> For miserable aims that end with self,
> In thoughts sublime that pierce the night, like stars,
> And with their mild persistence urge man's search
> To vaster issues. So to live is heaven.

In fact, the use of theology in novel writing has become almost a fad. Such writers as Olive Schreiner and Mrs. Humphrey Ward, who attack the orthodoxy of the Churches by implications and assumptions and questionings, rather than by argument, show that the prevailing attitude of men and women in these days is a feeling after God, if haply they may find him. The most characteristic poetry of our times is theological in its prevailing tone. The two poets who are most worthy to be called representative of the highest in thought

and feeling of our times—Tennyson and Browning—are, indeed, doctors of divinity, teachers of religion even more potent than if they were ordained ecclesiastics. "In Memoriam" is *the* poem of the age, a mirror of the scientific spirit, joined with the devout faith—"believing where we cannot prove"—and the human brotherly yearnings, which we recognize as characteristic of that which is highest in modern religious life. If we needed another illustration of the popularity of religious inquiries we should have it in the Parliament of Religions at the Columbian Exposition, whose sessions awakened universal interest and unbounded discussion.

The nineteenth century, the age of individualism, has dealt the principle of infallible authority a fatal blow, and, as the result of the liberation of the individual conscience, every man is his own theologian. Necessity is laid upon him to choose his god. There is henceforth no infallible power to choose one for him. It has been truly said: "The Protestant Reformation has its principle and its method. Its principle is salvation by faith, not by sacraments. Its method is private judgment, not Church authority." * It is this method of Protestantism that has withdrawn the study of theology from the monopoly of a professional class and cast it trustfully abroad, like potent seed, to be watched over and matured by the ever-present Spirit of all truth. In our days we are watching with amazement, and not without misgivings, the various luxurious growths of opinions and institutions which have sprung up as a result of that sowing, unpruned by Holy Inquisition or infallible councils; and we ask, not without alarm, "What shall the harvest be?" A young man entering the ministry of the Gospel in these days, and wishing to be at the same time both honest and consistent, is met by the buffeting currents of opinion that surge about him and is led to question the reliability of his faith and to fear lest he may make shipwreck of his faith. He envies the apostle who, having safely weathered every sea, drops anchor with a glad shout of deliverance—"I have kept the faith." Times of transition are confusing; but this age of multifarious opinion is preeminently the age of faith, as well as the age of liberated thought. No sect monopolizes the liberalizing tendencies of this age. The movement is general,

*James Freeman Clarke.

prophetic of the time when men shall know the truth and be made free. It has been said:

> In Protestant countries there is a tendency to Rome, but in Roman Catholic countries an equal or greater tendency to Protestantism. Orthodoxy tends to liberal Christianity, liberal Christianity tends to orthodoxy. Each longs for its opposite, its supplement, its counterpart. It is a movement toward a larger liberty and a deeper life.

The next century will be more brotherly and social than this age of the assertion of individuals and sects. The danger lies in the pendulum movement, lest, in breaking away from this century, we lose the rich deposit of truth which the age of individualism has left us and seek only the great half truth which socialism is to teach. The Protestant watchword, "My soul and God," must not be lost sight of or perverted into "Humanity and no God." It will be strengthening to our faith and satisfying to our hunger for truth if we can, in any degree, distinguish between that which is true and that which is false in this intensely Protestant tendency of our times.

There are people who have specialized the word "liberal," as the followers of Alexander Campbell have, rather arrogantly, specialized the word "Christian;" and these so-called "liberal" people of the religious world make such a disproportionate noise in comparison with their numbers that a man raised in orthodoxy, but whose mind is somewhat timidly open to conviction, is half inclined to accept their assertions and believe himself a blind bigot for having a creed. We allow the "liberal" theologian to construct, for the sake of his own argument, a definition of orthodoxy which no two people who call themselves orthodox would accept, and then to demolish it with a triumphant satisfaction altogether out of proportion to the size or importance of the victory. In an article called "The Inevitable Surrender of Orthodoxy," Mr. Savage, of Boston, —after constructing a caricature of evangelical Christianity, composed of a fossil Calvinism made lurid with liberal contributions of fire and brimstone, which he libelously misnames "orthodoxy"—weeps ill-timed tears over the hypothetical millions of deluded Christians who to-day bow in worship to this Moloch of his own constructive imagination. His sentiment is as purely artificial as the weeping of the moping girl who thinks how awful it would be if she should marry and have

a child and it should die. Says the writer of the article in question, "There is not one single feature of the orthodox plan of salvation, starting with the fall and ending with heaven and hell, that does not outrage the sense of justice of any intelligent and unbiased mind." Such a comment would be accepted by every evangelical Christian when applied to the "orthodoxy" of the "liberal" imagination, just as Mr. Ingersoll's eloquent attacks on certain monstrous perversions of Christianity would be indorsed by the whole Church if uttered in the truth-loving spirit, and if they were not loaded down with conscious falsehoods and defiled with the venom of malice.

Like Don Quixote, the knightly plungings and fencings of such assailants, which would have been *en règle* in the Middle Ages, are now decidedly quaint and obsolete as directed against old-fashioned windmills and other defenseless antagonists. The liberalism that insults the orthodox Church by flaunting in its face the graveclothes of buried dogmas, and raises a *post-mortem* clamor against theories which are now but little insisted on, if not entirely ignored, in the more earnest demands of the age, is narrow, insincere, and unworthy of respect. Such liberalism partakes of the bigotry of the mediæval schoolmen, who obscured truth in their efforts to be logical. Truth does not progress according to the programs and formulas of logicians.

> Our little systems have their day,
> They have their day and cease to be.

Nor is it necessary to pronounce a funeral oration over them and make an ostentatious display at their obsequies. What orthodoxy has been in the days of Aquinas, in the time of the Inquisition, and in the time of Calvin is matter of history; and it is unfair if we, who use the word as a convenient designation of general evangelical Christianity, must bear all the intolerable burdens of error which have imposed themselves on the word in times past. If the definitions of so-called liberalism and of infidelity be the true ones, let the word "orthodox" perish forever from the Christian vocabulary! The word "orthodoxy" ("right teaching"), however, as used to designate evangelical Christianity, as received and taught by the Protestant Churches, is a constantly progressive and always noble word, keeping pace with the general advance of Christian thought. The word, as used by evangelical Christianity, has taken on mean-

ings altogether broader and nobler than have yet been conceded by our ungenerous liberal critics. Almost within our own day orthodoxy has been broadened so as to include us Methodists, the freest thinkers of Protestantism, who preach a free salvation, and who do not believe in the "decrees" or "five points" any more than the "liberals," or, for that matter, the Presbyterians themselves. It is to be hoped that the expression "right teaching" may be extended in simplicity and breadth, until all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and who by faith in his name are trying to lead men out of sin into holiness shall be called orthodox.

The word "orthodox" ought never to be used as an antonym of "liberal." Phillips Brooks once said, "Let not religion come to seem to men the affair of a party." The same ought to be said concerning liberality of thought. It is vain for any set of thinkers to form a party and assume proprietorship over an idea or a spirit that is the common gift of the century—a spirit poured out on all flesh and affecting every denomination of opinion. Liberality of thought is a good spirit, which ought to pervade all Christian Churches; nor can it be specialized and made into an "ism." Dr. Thomas very sensibly said, at a recent meeting of the Sunset Club, of Chicago, "It ought not to be that, whenever a man has a new thought on the subject of God, he must build a Church to house it in." Perhaps the doctor has learned that when a man tries to make a creed out of liberality of thought he finds that it serves him very poorly in that capacity. Thus it comes to pass that whenever a man professes to be a liberal it generally means that he is nothing. Dr. Paul Carus closes an article on the "Dawn of a New Religious Era" with these words, full of sublime sound and—emptiness: "There is but one religion—the religion of truth. . . . The religion of the future can only be the religion of truth." Any sect of thinkers that deals in such commonplaces as to say that the religion of the future will be the religion of truth can have but little influence in persuading men to leave their denominations to form a new one. A world of sinning and needy men will respond to such a sentiment by saying bitterly, with jesting Pilate, "What is truth?" and, like him, will not wait for a reply. In reading "liberal" literature one is amazed to find everywhere a supercilious assumption that there are no

broadly charitable thinkers in any other schools of belief—an assumption that so-called evangelical orthodoxy is synonymous with a sour bigotry. There is an unaccountable failure to recognize the tolerant, truth-seeking spirit which is to-day the most conspicuous and attractive attribute of evangelical Christianity. Senseless exhortation and shallow self-congratulation are not limited to orthodox preachers. Such a liberalism, in boastfully assuming a private ownership in that which is, in fact, the common property of our age—the *Zeitgeist* of the century—is made intolerant through egotism. Such a self-assumed proprietorship of the liberalizing spirit which God has breathed into this whole age of Protestantism leads to the result that might be anticipated as inevitable. Liberalism, as a sect or denomination of theological opinion, becomes, not a positive agency for the edification of mankind in truth, but a negative and carping body of teaching, which, like the doctors and lawyers who subsist on the infirmities of body and of conscience which afflict society, is useful chiefly in discovering and parading—not without profit, it is true—the blemishes of those who are imperfectly, but earnestly, doing the Christian work of the world.

Let us consider some of the inherent weaknesses of liberalism, considered as an "ism" or school of theological thought. As already hinted, its most conspicuous weakness is the negative, vague, illusive character of its teachings. It abounds in generalities, mostly so commonplace as not even to be "glittering." It is even harder to define the word "liberal" than the word "orthodox." Its vagueness almost saves it from indictment. "Liberalism" is a word similar in character to the expression "the opposition," as used in politics, and expresses something negative, rather than positive. Nonconformity to generally received theological opinions is the loose bond that holds liberals together in a semblance to unity. "Anything to beat Grant" was a watchword that formed a party of opposition of widely divergent elements. So, when we use the word "liberal" we do not think of a system of constructive theology, but a multifarious group of thinkers who agree only in disagreeing with the commonly received tenets of evangelical Christianity—a group beginning almost inside the pale of orthodoxy, with such truly Christian teachers as Dr. Channing and James Freeman Clarke, and extending out to such end men of Unitarianism as

the Rev. M. J. Savage. Perhaps we should stop there; but the negative tendency still pushes on—still out—through the scientific atheism of Huxley and Spencer, through the agnosticism of Auguste Comte, to the gross, ribalda theism of Ingersoll, and still beyond, if anything more empty and negative can be conceived.

Doubtless the Liberal Congress which met last year in our city, with a flourish of trumpets and flutter of anticipation, ought to give us some adequate idea of the *personnel* and common tenets of liberalism. In studying this congress it was evident that the only ground for agreement was objection to orthodoxy; and these objections arose chiefly from overstatements or misunderstandings of its principal doctrines. In the congress were assembled all grades, beginning with the so-called "liberal orthodox," through Universalism, Unitarianism, through Judaism (revised edition), out to ethical culture, which by its very name disclaims all connection with theology, liberal or illiberal. And in this congress the centrifugal tendency was strikingly apparent. It was hard to resist the outward drift. One brother grew merry over the situation and gayly declared that all space was hardly broad enough to furnish him a platform. The longer they sat the more confused they became. With some evident chagrin they closed their deliberations, feeling farther apart than ever, and with a conviction that the spirit of missionary propagandism was not consonant with their negative doctrine. Somewhat inanely did they talk on matters on which no two agreed, and adjourned a little crestfallen and with a dim consciousness that the great world, in its need and hunger of soul, was but little helped—with a dim consciousness, we hope, also, that after all the so-called orthodox Churches have some share in the liberalizing spirit which is God's gift to this age, and something positive besides. The centrifugal tendency of liberalism is its most notable feature. From the denials of orthodoxy which all hold in common, it drifts out broadly into thinner and ever thinner atmospheres, through pantheism and agnosticism, out to blank atheism. Almost the only characteristics common to all liberals are in the nature of denials.

But it is worthy of remark that often, in this vast system or, rather, chaos of beliefs or unbeliefs, are wandering bodies, like

comets, traveling in parabolic orbits, which, after tracing illimitable wastes of negation, return ever and anon to a close and fiery perihelion of credulity around some center of positive error, like theosophy, spiritualism, or Christian science—only to drift out again, through all the widening circles of doubt and liberalism, into thinner and thinner ethers of cold agnosticism. Well did the poet exhort,

> Hold thou the truth; define it well;
> For fear divine philosophy
> Should push beyond her mark, and be
> Procuress to the lords of hell.

The superstitious credulity of infidels is proverbial. Men who are too rational to accept biblical Christianity start at omens, have their secret fetich *Lares* and *Penates*, see divine reasonableness in the skillfully veneered teachings of Vivekananda, and lend willing ears to the spirit rappings of the Fox sisters. Refusing the knowledge of God, they "became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools."

The weakness of liberalism, resulting from its being negative and critical, is illustrated in two notable features of its doctrine: (1) its treatment of the subject of sin; (2) its neglect of the devotional element of religion.

I. One of the most conspicuous causes of the weakness of liberalism is its inadequate method of dealing with sin. In this theology sin is an ignorance to be educated out of man, a lack—something negative, not a positive resistance of God. In making sport of the doctrine of the fall of man liberalists lose sight of the actual fallen men about us who need deliverance. Their easy-going contemplation of sin leads them, of course, to neglect, and even deny, conversion. As a Unitarian writer who deplores this tendency says, "It is common among liberals to doubt the reality, or deny the importance, of such changes." A liberalism of theology which shuts its eyes to the most conspicuous and terribly significant phenomenon of human life on earth—the fact of sin—and makes no provision for the cure of the fatal disease of humanity, is like the false watchman who is so unkindly tender-hearted as to say, "Peace, peace," to the defenseless city when the enemy are already scaling the wall. Such theologians treat moral disease as the

so-called Christian scientists treat physical ills—by ignoring them. They say to the troubled and sin-sick soul, "Go in peace;" but they do not give the healing touch. That was a very "liberal" rector who, when George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, went to ask advice for the distress of his soul, told him to amuse himself and divert his mind. James Freeman Clarke, in criticism of this tendency of liberals to underestimate sin, declared, "There are some preachers among us who would not know what to do for a penitent and anxious soul which really saw the greatness of its need."

In contrast to this negative view of sin we have the orthodox view, which is radical and definite, supplying the *raison d'être* of the methods and institutions of evangelical Christianity. According to orthodoxy, Christ was manifested to take away our sin, and Christianity is a system of redemption first, and then of education. If the time-worn doctrines of the fall of man, original sin, total depravity, etc., be not correct and unalterable expressions of absolute truth (and no one to-day claims that they are); if orthodoxy, in exalting the atonement and the supernatural change effected in the human heart by the regenerating Spirit, has tended to an almost Antinomian extreme, making the Christian life solely a passive submission to irresistible sovereignty (and no one denies such perversions) —nevertheless, the intensely earnest view which orthodox Churches take of the exceeding sinfulness of sin and their equally intense belief in Christ as the Saviour from sin have been the motive power of modern evangelical Christianity—a power that has found expression in the missionary and revival movements which have made the nineteenth century what it is; a power that promises to lay a hallowing hand on the modern socialistic tendencies and save them from hurling society into atheistic anarchy, guiding them, rather, to the establishment of a universal household of God on earth. Judged by the test of ethical utility, as a working hypothesis in making men better, orthodoxy, in its treatment of sin, is strong, and liberalism weak. Phillips Brooks says, "I think that it is in the exhibition of their moral consequences and connections, far more than in the discovery of their abstract truth or falsehood or their proof or disproof from the Bible, that doctrines to-day must be established or refuted in the eyes of men." By this

test of ethical utility liberalism as a creed ranks with atheism, in being weak in the pulling down of the strongholds of iniquity.

II. The weakness of liberalism because of its negative character is again illustrated in its neglect of the devotional element of religion. The most essential thing about a religion is that it be religious. This explains why so many highly intellectual people remain devout Catholics. They prefer an irrational or superrational religion to mere intellectualism. Mark Pattison says, "Men have never given up their beliefs on account of the difficulties raised against them; they will not plunge into a vacuum." To banish God as far as possible from the personal consciousness of men, to communicate with him only through the long-distance telephone of impersonal laws and evolutions, and finally to dispense with him altogether is the strong tendency of liberalism, the only logical stopping place being the soulless materialism of Huxley. When liberal theology has thus drifted out into so-called scientific free thought we encounter a limbo of confused ideas. These self-styled free thinkers are found wandering in pathless bogs of credulity with a complacency that puts to blush the darkest ages of faith. Such thinkers, teaching, as they do, that the states of the mind are but chance movements of the molecules of the brain, become too gross to understand or treat with fairness the religions of men. It has been fairly alleged against Huxley that "his manner of approach to the Christian system is to represent it as a clerical intrigue or, at least, as in the main an exhibition of tyranny, ignorance, and self-seeking on the part of churchmen." The great heresy of modern science is to make physical phenomena the only realities. It is not to be wondered at that such a philosophy can become a religion only to a very small, highly cultivated, but parasitic class, while the mass of mankind still cling to supernatural religion and, in lieu of something better, to superstitions and idolatries. The healthy human consciousness will always protest, with Goethe, that God is, and that he is not far off, but present in nature and humanity:

> Not so outside doth the Creator linger,
> Nor let the all of things run round his finger,
> But moves its center, not its outer rim;
> Comes down to nature, draws it up to him,
> Moving within, inspiring from above,
> With currents ever new of light and love.

Liberalism, in all its forms, lacks that sense of the presence of God in his Church which alone can give enthusiasm and life. A prominent Unitarian says of his own Church, "A Unitarian congregation usually consists of intelligent, virtuous, well-meaning people, but destitute of enthusiasm and with little confidence in the new birth or religious life." In avoiding anthropomorphism the liberalist tends to make God more and more an abstraction, to lay less and less stress on the emotional and mystical elements in religion, to make theology an intellectual theory, and to obscure the personal dependence of the individual on God, as a Father and Friend. Such a religion is necessarily weak; for humanity seeks God, and the heart often cries out against the head:

"There is no God," the foolish saith,
But none, "There is no sorrow;"
And nature oft the cry of faith
In bitter need will borrow.
Eyes which the preacher could not school
By wayside grave are raisèd;
And lips say, "God be pitiful,"
Who ne'er said, "God be praisèd."

A religion will be strong in proportion as it makes men realize the presence of God. Moses felt the force of that truth when he said, "If thy presence go not with me, carry us not up hence." The complaint which the Christian justly makes against liberalism is, "They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him." At the late congress of liberals one of the speakers on ethical culture—an earnest, sad-faced man—took occasion to say, "The name Jesus, beautiful though it be, must inevitably be a name of ever-lessening potency as the minds of men are emancipated from error and are taught that every man must save himself." Those of us who were there will remember that a sudden hush smote the audience, as if they were chilled and frightened at the awful leap into the dark which they were invited to take.

Evangelical Christianity is the most powerfully influential religion the world has ever seen, because it teaches so strongly the intimate relation between God and man. Its message to society is, "Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men;" its message to the individual is, "Know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost?" No matter how emancipated

men may become intellectually, it is by no means probable that liberalism will profit by it at the expense of evangelical Christianity. As a prominent infidel admits, "It is true that people have become indifferent about theological subtleties; but they still remain under the sway of religion, and the Churches are becoming more truly religious as they are becoming less sectarian." A great deal is being said about the religion of the future. It is not saying too much to predict that the religion of the future will be the form of religion which, in its teaching and practice, brings the divine Father nearest to the human soul and which, in human society, makes men realize that the tabernacle of God is, indeed, among men.

Having noticed some of the more conspicuous weaknesses of liberalism, we are not to forget that there is another side to the discussion. The whole movement is reactionary against opposite errors in orthodoxy. In all these liberal writings we find protests against the traditional and long-established interpretations of God and his dealings with mankind. There is a legitimate demand that new wine be put into new bottles, that the Church conscientiously face new conditions with improved adaptations. It is not to be wondered at if Protestants do too much protesting. One extreme of the pendulum movement is evidence of an opposite extreme. If liberalism has been too negative it is because orthodoxy has been too positive or, rather, falsely positive.

This tendency is seen in its treatment of truth derived from other than scriptural sources—as, for instance, the discoveries of science. Intolerance is always a cowardice, resulting from weakness of faith. The Church, in assuming to be the sole channel of truth, has sometimes usurped the office of the Holy Ghost and has made wretched work of leading men into all truth. Afraid to trust the Spirit of truth, she undertook the impossible task of defining truth herself. It was a pathetic sight when Galileo, over seventy years old, with one hand on the gospels and the other on his heart, at the command of the Holy Inquisition solemnly repudiated the truth which God had given him concerning the material universe, on the ground that it was plainly repugnant to the teachings of Holy Writ. In those days and since, some men were more careful to be orthodox than to be right. It is equally pathetic to hear some Prot-

estant preachers of our day rant, with unbecoming confidence, against the findings of modern science—which ought to be judged as facts, independently of any possible bearing on anyone's creed—and with a vehemence that betokens a cowardly fear lest, if Darwinism should be proved, the whole fabric of the Christian system must fall. If our Christianity is to stand or fall with some old theory of natural science or of biblical interpretation, such as mediæval geology or the chronology of Usher, we have, indeed, built our house on the sands. It is essentially cowardly in a Christian preacher to-day to indulge in pointless sarcasm against the much-abused higher criticism, as if the results of this earnest study were not as likely, and more so, to establish, as to undermine, the true power and authority of the sacred word. Orthodoxy has manifested the same spirit as Romanism in its faithless fear of private judgment. No sooner does Protestantism win its great fight against papal authority than it is stricken with panic lest God should not properly conserve the results of the Reformation; and it seizes hold of the dethroned principle of infallible authority and proceeds to enthrone it in the canon of Holy Scripture and to foster an enervating idolatry of the letter of the word, saying to the people, "These be your gods, O Israel!" In our age the Bible is being relieved of many intolerable burdens which it has been made to bear; and the more it is studied and rightly interpreted the more conspicuous does its divine purpose and inspiration shine forth, its purpose being, not to teach occult science, but to guide men out of sin into holiness.

Orthodoxy has been too positive, also, in its insistence on creed statements. By reducing theology to an exact science it has invited attack. Nicæan formulas and hairsplitting definitions of the Eternal One seem in our day almost irreverent. The whole Christian world is learning that absolutely identical belief is not essential to identity of Christian faith and life. The tendency of the age is toward a more simple, reverent, and tolerant attitude in reference to the hidden things of God, together with a more stalwart and earnest attention to practical ethics. It has been truly said:

> No creed ever made satisfied even the majority. How, indeed, can any statement proceeding from the human brain be an adequate and permanent expression of eternal truth? Even the apostle says, "We know in

part, and we prophesy in part," and "Whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away." If Paul declared that he had not the power of making a perfect and permanent statement of truth, how can we believe that anyone else can ever do it?

Is there, then, no assurance of faith for the Christian teacher or believer? Is there no satisfying *via media* between a narrow, self-contented orthodoxy, on the one hand, and the thin, vapid liberalism, on the other, that starves out the religious life and chills into paralysis the warm enthusiasms of devotion? Is there no attitude toward truth more satisfying than either of these? The answer to these heart-searching questions must be found in an earnest study of the essential nature of Christianity, which is a life, not a carefully elaborated set of opinions. A great orthodox writer has truly said:

> Men must be made to feel that the Christian religion is not a mass of separate questions, having little connection with one another, on all of which a man must have made up his mind before he can be counted a believer. The spiritual unity of the faith must be brought out and its simplicity asserted in the prominence given to the personal life and work of Jesus Christ and loyalty to him, as a test of all discipleship.

Under such a noble conception of Christianity there is no narrowness in belonging to a denomination or holding a creed, if we at the same time cling to the simple spiritual unity of the faith. John Wesley had the right idea of Christian unity and of essential orthodoxy when he said, "I desire a league, offensive and defensive, with every soldier of Jesus Christ." It has well been said, "The Church, if she holds her creed as a creed ought to be held, is neither dogmatic nor skeptical, but keeps both to the special and the universal and makes them minister to each other." A good definition of essential Christianity was given at the Parliament of Religions by a Christian Japanese: "The essential nature of Christianity is not dogma, but the ethico-religious life in each individual soul and in humanity at large. Live the life and do the work of Jesus Christ. The orthodoxy of dogma shall give place to the orthodoxy of life and work." As George Macdonald said, "I find that doing the will of God leaves me but little time for disputing about his plans." Even in this age, then, of vast and often excessive liberality of thought, it is possible to say, "I have kept the faith." An honest looking forward toward the things that are before,

not assuming that we have already attained or were already perfect; a cordial acceptance of Christ's teaching that the Holy Spirit is in the world to lead us into all truth; an open eye for the light that is yet to break upon the dark problems of human life, from God's word of Scripture and from his words that can be read in the social, political, and economic movements that are making history under our very eyes—such an attitude will save us from the stupefying self-contentment which is the result of a blind adherence to rigid formulas of belief, wrought for us in the heat of irritating controversy.

What, then, shall save us from drifting too far out and losing our religious life in the inanition and paralysis of a false liberalism? May we not find that safeguard in the realization of a present God—a recognition of the fact that the God and Christ of the New Testament are present to-day in mighty power in the Church? Or, in other words, may we not find a corrective to a false intellectualism in the cultivation of a personal religious experience. "Rooted and grounded in love," we shall be able to comprehend "what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height; and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge." The facts of personal religious experience and observation are now, as in apostolic days, to be our strength as Christian teachers. Christianity is eminently an historical religion, resting on facts, to-day, as always—not on philosophy. Men will believe in the Christ whom they see in the Churches and in Christians. It is comparatively futile to argue with an unbeliever in favor of miracles alleged to have been wrought nineteen centuries ago. But if we can show that these were but the things "that Jesus began both to do and teach;" if we can show proof to-day of a "power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth;" if, as one of the converts of the Pacific Garden Mission so eloquently declared, a second New Testament might be written from the deeds of Jesus Christ in Chicago—deeds of regeneration, healing, and raising from the dead—then we have an argument in favor of orthodoxy ("right teaching") which cannot be gainsaid.

Hugh D. Atchison.

Art. V.—NEWSPAPER RESPONSIBILITY IN RELATION TO INTEMPERANCE.

There are few social forces which claim to equal the potency of the periodical press. Specially is this true of its newspaper department. Its inconsiderable cost puts it within reach of the poor, its convenient form and serial visits render its perusal possible by the busiest, while the compass and ability of original and contributed articles fully sustain its high claim. The range of its discussions embraces almost every conceivable topic. It introduces us to all lands and makes us familiar with the passing events of all countries, so that, whether in matters relating to literature, science, philosophy, or the sayings and deeds which make up the history of everyday life, there is no reasonable apology for anyone's being in ignorance. Nor does it relegate to class and professional journals exclusive consideration of specialties; but in the table of its diversified contents space is devoted to their intelligent and popular consideration.

A daily newspaper is a comprehensive compendium of the freshest and best in every department of literature, and contributes largely to such a fund of valuable information as must have its influence on the popular mind. As a means of education it takes a foremost place and acknowledges no secular superior. It is to be feared that large numbers of the people allow their religious or secular paper to do their thinking for them, and so are likely to receive without question and impart without hesitation what was oracularly stated in their familiar journal. Away from the more highly favored centers of intelligence the home is but sparsely supplied with books, while public libraries are institutions promised only to the strongest faith. Persons in such circumstances have but few opportunities for study, which makes it all the more natural that they should turn with pleasure to the newspaper as the most promising source of intelligence within their reach. We are here stating a fact, and not offering a criticism. It is a matter for gratulation that, in the absence of the best environment, there goes so unobtrusively into the homes of every community a means of accomplishing so much in relieving the darkness of ignorance and neutralizing its terrible results. We are

not affirming that our description will apply without exception; on the contrary, it is possible for the unscrupulous to impose upon a community their hurtful publications.

When we speak of the newspaper as an educational force we are warranted in using the phrase in the widest and best sense. All true education looks through words to opinions, to the implanting of the germs of truth, and to the development of worthy sentiment. Every community will be prosperous in proportion as it regards and practices such principles as accord with truth, whether that truth be in the physical, mental, or moral nature. It is, indeed, neither feasible nor desirable that every newspaper column should be an objective lesson in some department of virtue; but the best interests of society demand that in conducting a journal the most enlightened judgment be used, in order that it may with all its power protest against the wrong and encourage the right. There is, of course, no one profession or agency to which this duty can be exclusively relegated. There is no assumption of wisdom or of virtue which makes it a special privilege. It is coming more and more to be considered the prerogative of anyone to engage in this great work before whom opportunity has opened its inviting door. Philanthropy and patriotism, as well as religion, demand it. The highest privilege of intelligent citizenship is to make men wiser and better. There is no selfish interest which may be allowed to excuse any from this natural obligation. He cannot claim that his vocation is secular, and that it is the special sphere of the pulpit to monopolize this work. But it is rather a question of opportunity; and with opportunity comes a responsibility that cannot be evaded.

For the dissemination of truth and the consequent overthrow of error the newspaper press possesses opportunities which are strangely complete. Because of a peculiar and confidential relation to its readers, it can manufacture a sentiment which will soon demolish the strongest walls of the worst enemy of society. Our thought pertains to abstract truth only in so far as it may be applied to the experiences of practical life. It is in order that society may be made better and homes happier, in order that crime may be banished and good will may abound, that we are thinking of the best and fairest agency for accomplishing the great revolution of the reformation of society.

We are warranted in looking to the newspapers of the land as being fully adapted to this great work. This should not be considered a strange demand, since so many of them remind us, with repeated emphasis, that it is their purpose to prove friendly to every virtue and uncompromisingly hostile to every vice, and specially to such evils as jeopardize the morals of the masses, add to the burdens of society, and paralyze what ought to be the protecting arm of the State. We are not imposing on this agency any unreasonable task, but only those responsibilities which, in the light of repeated assumptions of the most distinguished journalists, we have a right to expect.

Now, let this powerful engine determine with the force of truth to demolish the walls that environ the strongest enemies of society, and the issue cannot long remain in doubt. We are brought to this conclusion by observing the influence of any teaching when presented to the popular mind with care and perseverance. By such a method Cato contributed to the overthrow of Carthage; while by similar persistence Garrison and Phillips did the same for "the sum of all villainies." Napoleon is reported to have declared that four hostile newspapers were more to be feared than a thousand bayonets. Justice Story's opinion of the province of newspapers is seen in the following significant utterance:

> Here shall the press the people's right maintain,
> Unawed by influence, and unbribed by gain;
> Here, patriot truth her glorious precepts draw,
> Pledged to religion, liberty, and law.

In an editorial paragraph a widely circulated Boston daily, a few months ago, claimed for the press the most powerful influence for good. In connection with the assertion that the Louisiana lottery had been routed by the denunciation of the newspapers there appeared this very significant sentence: "There is probably no evil so gigantic or so powerfully intrenched that it cannot be denounced out of existence by a unanimous, or nearly unanimous, press." Again: "Great is the power of just criticism; and the newspaper is a more powerful factor in maintaining law and order than the statute book." These must be regarded as the considerate statements of an influential journal. Its claim, so all-embracing in its assumption, is worthy of close attention. The press had, it affirmed,

achieved a glorious victory over one of the most strongly intrenched foes, had driven him from his fastnesses, and relieved the land from his cancerous presence. To have done this is to have established a claim to an incalculable force, whose responsibility reaches to the same vast extent. Our only wonder is that the conqueror did not immediately look about for fresh laurels from other promising fields and again verify the wisdom of an old declaration:

> Take away the sword;
> States can be saved without it. Bring the pen.

There is no lover of his kind whose heart will not glow with richer hopes as he considers what a powerful ally he has in this efficient literary force, and whose prayers will not be most earnest that it may assume the responsibility of its vast influence, exceptional intelligence, and brilliant self-consciousness.

To assist us in a more complete estimate of the influence of the newspapers of the United States we invite attention to their great number. According to the American Newspaper Directory for 1894, there are in the United States 1,853 daily newspapers and 14,077 which are published weekly, making of these two classes alone an astonishing total of 15,930 papers engaged daily or weekly in the wonderful educational work above described. In addition to these are semiweekly, triweekly, biweekly, monthly, and bimonthly publications, which bring the grand total of such periodicals to the vast number of 19,302. Not that these are all equally intelligent or equally conscientious; but they all belong to a corps in the army of reform, are responsible for a certain degree of effort, and are entitled to share in the common glory of success. But, great as is the number of these different publications, we are astonished beyond measure at the figures representing the number of copies of a single issue of each and all combined. A careful estimate places this single issue at forty-five millions of copies. This supply would furnish a copy to nearly three fourths of the people of our entire population. Let us further make the estimate for the year, and to our astonishment the grand total amounts to thirty-two hundred and eighty millions of copies. Surely we should not take exceptions to the assumptions of this mighty array, for too much cannot be

expected of its purest motive and highest purpose. Its existence is assured by a sympathetic and sustaining constituency. The ground is ready for the seed, the mind is strangely responsive to the thought thus brought to the millions of waiting readers, so that all places and their peoples are prepared to respond to the sentiments expressed on the hundreds of millions of pages of these publications.

We should fail to compliment this intelligent host by suggesting that it ignore such gigantic evils as are deeply intrenched and are surrounded by powerful friends and turn its mighty enginery against the friendless sins of our time. There are forms of wickedness which have no apologists, and for their denunciation no special heroism is required. Indeed, to arraign them frequently and with virulence appears to be the thing to do, and it is roundly done. We should be thankful that any evils are denounced and brought into contempt, that there exists against them a healthy sentiment which makes their existence a burden, and thus causes them to hide away from the light and accomplish their baneful purposes in the dark. We should be grateful that the number of evils thus placed under ban is increasing and their general reputation is growing deservedly darker. We are willing, too, to award to newspapers all the commendation they may claim for their part in this progressive work. But this denunciation should not be restricted to those infamous sins that have none to do them reverence. It would be decidedly uncomplimentary to suggest that the press leave to other agencies the development of a sentiment against those evils which are strongly intrenched in the habits or cupidity of society; that it follow in the wake of humbler forces where, by its professions and its proportions, it should be expected to lead; that it await the rise of a popular sentiment in order at the last to join in a victory secured by other heroes and ride on the wave like valorous champions. Such warfare would not impart the

> Stern joy which warriors feel
> In foemen worthy of their steel.

In such case the attitude of this giant force would subject it to unfavorable criticism. Indeed, it is frequently suggested that the press follows, rather than leads, public opinion, and that it

is swift to share the plaudits of victories whose battles it had not cared to wage.

It would be difficult to assign any just reason why the unchallenged claim that newspapers are published in the interest of the social prosperity should not cause them to concentrate all their forces against the rum traffic. Among the most intelligent and conscientious of the people, there is exceptional unanimity in the verdict which charges on the liquor business the fearful responsibility of nearly all our woes. Outside the circle financially interested, but few persons are so reckless as to defend the drinking of liquors as a beverage. Their baneful character cannot be ignored. Testimony to the fact that they are the frequent causes of the most diabolical, unnatural, and inhuman crimes easily places them in the category of national, social, domestic, and personal enemies. There can be no other conclusion. They are enemies to the general good. If this be true, every force which aims at the welfare of society should level its mightiest weapons for their overthrow and destruction. And any power which assumes to be the guardian of society's interests, and yet loses an opportunity of arraigning society's fiercest enemy, will hardly be able to maintain the impression that it is fearless in the advocacy of the brightest virtues and in denouncing the most virulent foes.

Scientific temperance education in forty States of this Union is crystallizing a sentiment which seems destined to become universal. This great movement advances on the supposition that rum drinking is deleterious to the physical tissues, that it sadly, if not fatally, deranges the vital organs, that it crazes the mind, impoverishes families, ostracizes children, multiplies crime, increases the burdens of taxation, and in every way tends to defeat the end of good government. Only acres of whirling cloud on a frowning sky could be an appropriate background for a faithful delineation of this most terrible of all pictures. You may see the original in disgraceful exhibitions every hour of the day and night. There are wrecks of manhood drifting aimlessly on the stagnant pools of existence; there is the squalor which characterizes brutally impoverished homes; and, what is the most deplorable of all, there are the inevitable street schools, into which neglected and abused children are ruthlessly driven to learn fiendish lessons through

which they are prepared for a life of crime. Such scenes are outrageous in the extreme; and the only wonder is that every voice is not lifted in indignant chorus against the possibility of such conditions. They only dare to thus trample the ordinary claims of justice in the dust until there shall arise a common sentiment which shall drive them into the darkness of all such leprous crimes. But so long as this monster is not scathingly rebuked, and rebuked as often and as bitterly as the philanthropist would rebuke other sins causing a tithe of the sorrow and ruin which accompany this, it argues and demonstrates a most reprehensible indifference to the ordinary claims of humanity. Who denies this arraignment? Who charges that the picture is overdrawn? No one. These things are not done in a corner, but they parade their offensiveness before the faces of purity and innocency as if they had any semblance of right to do so.

It has not been our purpose to arraign the liquor traffic further than to show that it is the master evil of the class which the press professes to antagonize. Denunciations of this wickedness might be expected to proceed from considerations of that humanity and patriotism which find their consistent expressions in extinguishing whatever threatens the dearest relations of life. Who doubts that rum belongs in this unenviable place? Why, then, does it receive exceptional treatment through inconsiderate silence? Why does it not, rather, receive exceptional treatment in faster and harder blows than all other wrongs combined? Of course, we are proceeding on the unchallenged conviction that its gigantic importance, demoniacal spirit, and inhuman work greatly surpass the aggregate of all other wrongs. It would seem that, if one desires to champion the cause of the unfortunate, to defend the oppressed, to assist the weak, to protect the unoffending, and unshackle the enslaved, he should seize humanity's common truths and hurl them, as Titanic bolts, against the drink demon.

But the liquor business is not suppressed. It lives and thrives. It has even ceased to apologize for its impertinence in living. It has fastened a relentless hold on every community. The terror of its ravages is only equaled by the impudence of its presumptuous demand for legal protection. Both are colossal. The surprise of some future day will be that our

Christian civilization ever submitted for thirty days to such an imposition. The crimes resulting from alcoholism are of every degree of turpitude and are committed against every phase of the individual, domestic, and national life. It is a treacherous, vile, reckless, brutal, and bloody enemy. It is just that kind of foe for whose suppression governments were instituted and printing presses set in motion. Government can never be consistent or faithful to the righteous claims of its subjects while the wrongs of which the liquor business is the acknowledged author are unavenged or while this demonizing process continues. Its earliest inspiration is greed, its undiluted purpose is unrelieved selfishness, while its successful methods are rank with corruption. To accomplish its self-aggrandizement it knowingly tramples upon the very heartstrings of society.

We are told that this fearful and painful condition of the individual, family, and social life must be endured until relieved by a healthy public sentiment. Whither, then, shall we turn for the creator and leader of this public sentiment? An answer is suggested by the legitimate purpose for which newspapers exist and by their repeated declarations of guardianship over the most cherished interests of life. In these publications there is a latent force which, if actively employed, would speedily accomplish the desired reformation. The personality of a newspaper is found in its editorial columns. There we discover its sentiments and ascertain its policy. On all questions which it cares to discuss its position is unmistakably displayed. What it thus commends finds easy favor with many who could only be persuaded by the established confidence of an old friend; while its denunciations would probably kindle strong aversion against the object of its antagonism. Much of this proceeds from a general concession to reputed editorial ability. It is in the editorial columns, rather than in those devoted to local and telegraphic news, that we may expect to find such opinions as will go far toward denouncing wrongs out of existence. The philanthropist has reason to envy the editor of a great newspaper the favorable opportunity he possesses for purifying the social atmosphere and bringing into homes, now distressed and cursed by drink, a beauty and sweetness which could not fail to call down the sincerest blessing of many distracted sufferers.

But just here we are confronted by a most inconvenient

dilemma. Either a unanimous, or nearly unanimous, press cannot denounce a gigantic evil out of existence, or the newspaper fraternity has been seriously negligent in failing to meet its greatest opportunity. Some familiarity with journals in different sections of the land, as well as a desire that they might rise to the majesty of a great situation, have made us carefully observant of the topics discussed in their columns. Our constant watching and continued waiting have not been frequently rewarded by such earnest protests against the tyranny of rum as it most certainly deserves. There is, therefore, forced upon us the conviction that, for some reason, the latter of the above alternatives must be accepted. We are convinced that the press has the power, but has failed to exert it. We do not forget that there have appeared from time to time, at wide intervals, occasional articles discussing proposed measures for regulating this bad business. But even in these an apologetic vocabulary is often employed. The business is so treated as to cause it to assume rights which the legislator is bound to respect. Such writing is not calculated to render the trafficker in liquors dissatisfied either with himself or his business. There are but few paragraphs which suggest how effectually to check the business, else Gambrinus would grumble; but somehow he is neither captious nor dissatisfied. Possibly before this in our argument we should have paid a merited tribute to the religious press and other journals which, by special purpose, devote themselves to the noble work of arousing the popular mind against the enormous crimes which are dethroning virtue, bribing justice, and interfering with the true ends of government. But so long as these heroic efforts are not seconded by the secular press the cause must make but slow progress, if, indeed, it does not languish.

But is not the great body of the press reasonably chargeable with something more than indifference? There may be exceptions; but from the treatment this question receives from the most influential journals might we not reasonably infer that the temperance advocates were on trial, charged with having contributed, through their convictions, to the continued existence of the rum traffic? Here is a sample recently clipped from a most reputable and influential Boston daily: "We continue to get accounts of harrowing tragedies caused by rum from the

teetotal State of Maine." Of course, we should be slow to place on any language a meaning which it was not designed to convey and which it would not naturally express. But, fairly considered, was that magnanimous appropriation of space intended as a herculean attack on rum, or as an indirect depreciation of the prohibitory legislation for which Maine is a synonym? When, on the other hand, have you read in a brief paragraph that, in the wide extent of that noble State, there is not a single brewery or one distillery? Is there nothing remarkable in such a phenomenon, and should it not call for loudest commendations?

The secular press affords actual encouragement to the drink business by the repeated assertion that it cannot be suppressed, thus laying the foundation for its legalized existence for a money consideration. Any space it devotes to the issue is usually occupied in discussing the comparative merits of certain proposed regulative enactments. The natural appetite for rum is assumed, the antiquity and wide prevalence of the drink custom is emphasized, and the certain persistence of its hold on universal society is paraded with oracular presumption, without a paragraph in reference to the inhuman tendencies of its continued sway. But why do not the newspapers inform us that a chief characteristic of this advanced century is the growing supremacy of the spiritual over the bestial, in which improvement the press has been a prominent and honored factor? Other victories are attainable; and the service of this very influential force will not only assure, but greatly hasten, the achievement of temperance reform. The potency of the press is specially shown in that it succeeds by implication, rather than by labored argument, in impressing the masses that the most hopeful plan for the extirpation of this rapacious giant is the stale, unphilosophic recipe written by the giant himself. To see old Gambrinus writing a recipe for his own regulation would be absolutely comic, were it not for the tragic events which we know are bound to follow.

Assuming that all observing persons have noticed the absence of such arguments against the prevalence of intemperance as humane sentiments would suggest, we may seek for explanations. The first we should probably discover would be partisan demands. It is to be regretted that certain great commercial

trusts have assumed to dominate the political parties and to render them hopeful or fill them with despair according as the said parties shall accede or not to the lines of policy which the trusts outline. The oldest, strongest, and most rapacious of these is the whisky trust. It holds the balance of power; and, while it has not always succeeded in receiving a diminution of its tax liabilities, it has felt satisfied with the knowledge that any tax recognizes its legal right to exist. It is thus made exceedingly difficult for a paper with uncompromising partisan tendencies to deal with this vast monopoly with that terse vigor which its inimical nature justifies and demands. It is a monopoly which is peculiarly sensitive to bad treatment, has a delicate appreciation of past favors, remembers tenaciously its discomfitures, and, subordinating every political principle to the requirements of its business, demands that this be protected, or else threatens to transfer its overwhelming forces to the camp of the other party. It thus succeeds in averting the deserved storm of indignation. We are not asking that this question be restricted to political treatment. There is a higher plane which will be more effectual. We would place it there. Treat it as you would an epidemic of disease or of unpopular crime. Stand for good government and strike down any foe that threateningly approaches; and if such patriotic defense should antagonize any party it will be the result of cold logic, for which the heaven-ordained nature of things is responsible.

Let us glance for a moment at the brilliantly displayed advertising columns of the daily papers. The editorial and advertising columns of the newspapers harmonize. Consistency demands this. The same thing cannot be fish in one place and flesh in another. It will be remembered that a few years since the greatest of caricaturists failed to agree with the greatest of editorial writers in the conduct of a noted weekly on which they were both engaged. The artist withdrew. This was in the interest of harmony and consistency. We shall never have strong and practical editorial descriptions of the rum demon while the press displays the demon's advertisements in the advertising columns of its issues. If it be a paper's business policy to advertise liquor it effectually precludes the probability of its being denounced in the paper as a great moral, social, and national evil. Advertising is the

liquor dealer's greatest argument. It is strangely forcible. It is an influential object lesson. He has secured through an advertisement what he would not have dared to ask as an editorial concession. Addison, nearly two hundred years ago, indicated that there was calculating method in such business acumen: "Advertisements are of great use to the vulgar.... A man that is by no means big enough for the gazette may easily creep into the advertisements, by which means we often see an apothecary in the same paper of news with a plenipotentiary, or a running footman with an ambassador." There is no class of business that receives through advertising so much for its money as the liquor business. In addition to the advantages which accrue to all businesses, it succeeds in paralyzing the editorial pen, which otherwise might insist on exercising its vaunted freedom for the destruction of the world's greatest wrong. There are certain lines of business which reputable journals refuse to display for any money consideration. The rum traffic must be relegated to that class before we can hope to see any vigor in the editorial treatment of this deadly foe.

We are willing that every consideration shall be banished from this discussion except that which was voiced by Terence before the Christian era: "I am a man, and I have an interest in everything that concerns humanity." But in what is humanity interested more vitally than in the problem as to how long the destruction of boys and men, of girls and women, is to continue? If, when craven Athens every ninth year sent its shipload of seven boys and seven girls to be destroyed by the monstrous minotaur in a Cretan labyrinth, every citizen had not denounced the inhuman shame the very stones would have reproached them. In the presence of such thorough devastation there is no time to prate of party and politics. Eradicate this poisonous weed; then argue the question as to what shall be done with the reclaimed soil. The nation applauded President Cleveland as he said to Debs, "First call off your strike; then I shall appoint a commission to treat with you." If there be these philanthropic and humane demands that the newspapers should vigorously denounce the one cause of most of our overwhelming woes we do not see how, in view of their assumptions of power and influence, they can longer be silent.

Let it be recorded to the honor of the newspaper corps that

in every other danger its voluntary and effectual assistance may be expected. If the great Northwest be ravaged by lurid flames columns are written suggesting the necessity for preventing a recurrence of the calamity. If the baneful shades of epidemic are detected voyaging on westward tides the danger is immediately heralded, with intelligent suggestions in reference to such precautionary sanitary measures as are desirable, and the press demands, with equal emphasis, that the very coast be locked and barred against the relentless destroyer. Then why not a similar interest in the overthrow of an evil before which all physical calamities pale into unsubstantial shadows? Here is the old, wicked, and vicious minotaur, growing fat on blood; and, while a unanimous, or even nearly unanimous, expression of righteous indignation concerning him and his deadly work would, within a few years, be his certain executioner, that word for some reason is yet unspoken, and the shameful destruction goes on. Let the press speak. Let it denounce this dark-visaged giant. Let it arraign him for his ruin of the bodies and property and happiness, and even the souls, of the American people, which it should be the highest prerogative of the government to protect. Let it point to the blood on this giant's red hands and charge upon him the death of the thousands slain. Let it span the wide space which separates a sacred home from a paltry office; and an outraged people, as under the spell of Mark Antony's eloquence, will rise and, from the instinct of self-preservation, will bury this crying shame. There can be no doubt that, when a unanimous press shall unite in a conscientious effort to develop and encourage public sentiment against this impudent, covetous, and murderous monster, it will fall paralyzed, dying, dead.

H. H. Ramsay.

Art. VI.—THE POETRY OF WILHELM MULLER.

Those who cherish Müller's poetry, and believe that it is destined to find more and more a place in the hearts of men, have seen with pleasure the many tributes of appreciation which have recently been paid him in all parts of Germany and in Greece, in connection with the hundredth anniversary of his birth—the seventh of last October. Were it not for certain assignable causes, it would seem beyond belief that he is so nearly unknown among English-speaking people. Our popular encyclopedias, even the *Britannica*, do not mention him, and the hospitable columns of the various volumes of Poole's *Index* have no entry under his name. Longfellow, with that fine poetic insight which did him honor, early recognized the value of Müller's lyrical gifts. In the second book of *Hyperion* he characterizes him with just appreciation,* and his translations of two of Müller's lyrics, under the titles "Whither?" and "The Bird and the Ship," have appeared in his works since 1839. Baskerville published three other translations. From the musical point of view, Franz Schubert showed his sympathetic estimate of Müller's work by his setting of the song-cycles "Die schöne Müllerin" and "Die Winterreise." These songs, so well known to English and American lovers of music, doubtless served Tennyson as a model in writing "The Window," and, perhaps, were not without influence upon "The Miller's Daughter" and "Maud." Unfortunately, the English translations which accompany Schubert's music, like nearly all translations of German songs, fail to give an adequate impression of the poetic quality of their originals. Professor Max Müller's *Chips from a German Workshop* contains an English translation of his Preface to the latest German edition of his father's poems—a most graceful tribute of filial piety. It should also be said that Dr. C. A. Buchheim has added to his many

* It is, perhaps, worthy of remark, in regard to Longfellow's quotation of the stanza from Müller's "little song where the maiden bids the moon good evening," that it is not the maiden, but the apprentice, who greets the moon, and that a closer translation would be:

> This song is a wanderer's simple lay,
> Which he sang in the full moon's flooding ray;
> And those who read it by candlelight,
> Cannot understand the song aright,
> But 'tis easy to a child.

other services to German literature in England that of having called specific attention to the value of Müller's poetry. This list practically concludes what has been done in English for our poet.

Foremost among Müller's qualities is his lively dramatic power, that highest form of literary expression, which, in some sense, reconciles the variant spheres of poetry and the depicting arts—Lessing's *Handlungen* and *Körper*. It is chiefly in his lyric cycles that our poet must be reckoned as a pioneer and creator of poetical form. No poet in any language has so happily carried out this strictly lyric treatment through a series of loosely connected songs, which at the same time show a definite progress in clearly marked action. German literature has not, it is true, been devoid of poems in which an indefinite *Er* holds more or less protracted discourse with an equally nebulous *Sie*. Uhland's *Wanderlieder* are older and, doubtless, exercised influence on Müller; but such works are not to be compared in respect of personification and action. Neither can we compare Browning's extended monologues. A near relative in English is, perhaps, to be found in Tennyson's "Maud;" but the latter, with its analytical introspection and the complexity of highly organized social life which it exhibits, is far enough removed from the pathetic simplicity of "The Winter Journey" or "The Rhenish Apprentice."

Here, as in almost every interesting movement in newer German literature, we can trace the fecundating influence of Goethe. In the series of four ballads beginning with *Der Edelknabe und die Müllerin* Goethe tried his hand at a new form—that of lyric conversations, the idea of which came to him upon his Swiss journey of 1797. Writing to Schiller, he says that they must make use of it in the future. "There are pretty things of the sort," says he, "in a certain older German period, and much can be expressed in this form. . . . I have begun such a conversation between a lad, who is in love with a *Müllerin*, and the mill brook, and hope to send it soon." The "certain older German" source is, without doubt, the mediæval *Volkslied*, which often suggests both the spirit and dainty melody which give charm to these dialogues. Goethe, doubtless, planned that all the four which were conceived at this time should form a connected romance; but this plan

was confused, in its working out, by a distracting one of having the songs represent four distinct sources—Old English, German, French, and Spanish. The resultant series is disconnected and partly contradictory; yet it is easy to understand why Schiller's wife said, "I hope you will let the pretty miller's daughter and the brooks say a good deal more!"

What Goethe indicated Müller performed, starting with a more thorough knowledge of the *Volkslied* than was accessible to Goethe. The most complete cycle, the tragi-comedy "Die schöne Müllerin," is in twenty-three songs, of which twenty have been set to music by Schubert. Its prologue breathes the odors and suggests the sounds and sights of spring which are to pervade the whole—the pure air, far from the narrow walls of the city, the woods, fields, valleys, and heights, the clattering mill, the rushing brook, the merry hunter, and the wandering apprentice. Then comes a splendid song, full of the bounding, exultant joy of being "on the road," vibrant with the merry whirl and whirring of the wheel and the stones and the tumbling of the noisy water. "O, Wand'ring is the Miller's Joy" is itself enough to make the poet's memory dear to his people. The following song, "Whither?" is discussed by Longfellow in *Hyperion*, where he gives a remarkably faithful and melodious version, which fails only in translating the pretty word-play,

> Du hast, mit deinem Rauschen,
> Mir ganz berauscht den Sinn.

Following this come the other members of the cycle, in most charming metrical variety, for, of the entire twenty-three songs, only four are in the same meter, which is the light ballad form that Heine so often uses; and this variety is no mere conceit, but offers the vehicle for the fullest musical expression of every emotional phase of the little drama. Müller is a musical poet, in the deepest sense of the word, as Sidney Lanier was musical; and this is indicated by his recognition by many composers. I do not refer merely to the melodic flow of his diction, nor to the smooth and varied rhythms, but to his art in composition, to his development of motive and theme, to *Stimmungen*, color, and tone. He points toward that day when music and literature, no longer underestimating one another,

shall unite in reciprocal interpretation. It is interesting to read Müller's own words:

I can neither sing nor play; and yet, for all that, I do sing, and play too, when I am composing. If I could only express the melodies that come to me, my songs would be more pleasing than they are. Well, perhaps a kindred spirit may be found some time, whose ear shall catch the melodies from my words, and who will give me back my own.

As regards the metrical variety,* we have, now, the anapestic clatter of the mill wheel:

See, a mill among the alders,
Which their shade half conceals;
Through murm'ring and singing,
Comes clatter of wheels;

now, the more pensive trochaics of

When she's sitting at the brookside;

then, the pure song-form of "Impatience," with its recurring refrain,

Thine is my heart, and shall be thine forever;

while the increasing vehemence of the young miller's passion comes to its climax in the rhapsodic outbreak of "Mine!" with its single rhyme throughout:

Brooklet, cease that song of thine!
Wheels, your noisy hum resign!
Merry wood birds who combine,
All in line,
Let your tuneful lays decline!
There, where twine
Spray and vine,
Shall resound one rhyme divine:
The sweet miller's daughter, she is mine!
Mine!
Spring, are these the only flowers of thine?
Sun above, canst thou not brighter shine?
Lonely, ah, must I repine,
With that word of blessing, "mine,"
Nor be understood through nature's vast design!

Upon this follows the ominous "Pause," and the entrance of the unabashed hunter, breaking ruthlessly into the preserves of the miller's apprentice, whose agitation can find outlet only in six-foot iambics,

Where now, so swift, so whirling-wild, my dearest brook?

* In the translations the purpose has been to give an accurate syllabic reproduction of the original form.

And for each chapter in his rapidly developing experiences the proper mode is found, up to the last scene—the soothing lullaby of the brook, with the closing accord:

> The moon climbs high,
> Clear is the sky—
> And the heaven up yonder, how far away!

Sudermann, in his *Geschwister*, brings out effectively the culminative emotional force of the moods of this series.

There are other cycles of the same sort; and in shorter groups of related poems the same treatment comes to view, as in those which have to do with the life of the Bohemian musician, the rustic love-lays of the Italian reaper and herdsman, and the manly poems of German hunter life. In all of them can be noticed the distinct personification and characterization, the sprightliness of movement, the wide range of feeling. The tone is that of everyday life, and the diction is full of homely, direct expressions and of those crisp word-effects in which the German tongue abounds—not displayed and sported with, as is Rückert's wont, but subordinate to a purpose. What simple intensity of feeling! Again and again there is the sudden outbreak of compressed emotion which is the very soul of lyric poetry. We know it in Heine and Geibel and, more by suggestion, in Goethe. So, in "The Winter Journey," where the wanderer, whose tears fall into the snow, tells it that it is to melt and flow into the brook and thus pass, at length, the abode of his beloved in the town:

> Through the town thou wilt be going,
> Through its cheerful streets thou'lt roam;
> When thou feel'st my tears a-glowing—
> There, that is my darling's home!

The justest criticism is that the characters are idealized; the wandering German apprentice is as little delineated here as is the typical shepherd in English pastoral poetry. However, there is no false sentiment, and the poet is true to his conception.

The dramatic gift is further shown in the treatment of individual subjects, as in the strong delineation of "The Wandering Jew," and, especially, in the ballad "The Bell-Founder of Breslau," concerning which we frankly avow our opinion that it is the best naïve popular ballad in modern literature, viewed from any standpoint—its artless language, its native

tone, its distinct and limited personification, its stirring situation, its uninterrupted action, its tragic climax, its moral justification, its harmonious resolution and simple ending;—but one must exercise self-restraint.* Müller has entered as fully as any German author into the spirit of the national *Volkslied*, and his reproductions have the very note of unconscious, impersonal simplicity which belongs to this class of poetry. He never becomes declamatory, stiff, or consciously rhetorical; nor does he wrest the beauty of the lyric into any other service. As genuine popular types may be mentioned "Tears and Roses" and "The One called Dead." In "Brotherhood" we notice brevity of form, combined with deepest feeling.

With great felicity he has, also, reproduced the very spirit and color of an alien popular literature. His stay of more than a year in Italy, after the completion of his academic studies, especially his summer in Albano, in 1818, afforded him a highly prized opportunity to become intimately acquainted with popular Italian life and songs upon their native soil; and the fruit of this sympathetic study appears in his "Rustic Songs," the "Songs from the Gulf of Salerno," and "Serenades in Ritornelles." In the alternate songs of the first set we have a vivid suggestion of the ancient dialogue of raillery. With the spirit is also exhibited the form, with much ingenuity, the experiments in assonance being quite as successful as Rückert's feats in foreign modes—and equally, in our opinion, a doubtful investment, though a meed of admiration cannot be withheld from the linguistic talent which can overcome the difficulties of the excessively artificial and complex form of the ritornelle, as Müller uses it.

It is hard to speak with moderation of his preeminent powers as an interpreter of nature, alive and animate in a thousand teeming forms—an interpreter at whose side German literature can place few representatives. What exhilaration in action, what joy of mere existence! His poems of nature are full of fresh air. Can any wholesome being fail to catch the contagion of rapturous jubilation in the spring song beginning,

> Fling wide the sash! fling wide the heart!
> O, quickly! O, quickly!

* In a translation of this ballad (*Germania*, July, 1893), we have attempted to reproduce its simple tone and the slightly archaic flavor of its diction.

with its lively personification of inanimate nature? How the mild breezes, the dazzling sun rays, the twitter of birds, and the laughter of brooklets come out in "The Birch Grove near Endermay," just as the chilly mood of winter pervades "The Winter Journey." All the wholesome sea gales that blow go trumpeting and fluttering through the lines of "The Bird and the Ship." Longfellow's translation here is inadequate, because of the loss of the feminine rhyming cadence, which adds sensibly to the careening movement; and for obvious scruples Longfellow has dropped out the sixth stanza from his version.* We prize very highly that little group, "Seashells from the Island of Rügen," with their delightful portrayal of all the refreshing charm which the surging sea offers to the jaded comer from the distant inland—the briny air, the dashing of the surf, the gleaming sand, on which lie shining pebbles and seashells; and the fancies of the poet are as unforced and variegated as the aspects of nature. So, in "Sea and Sky:"

> As each bright cloud is painted on the sea,
> As from its bosom flash the sunbeams free;
> Even as it trembles with each zephyr light,
> That hovers downward from the distant height;
> So is my heart thy sea—my heaven, thou;
> Wilt thou its waves at length repose allow?

The poem "Vineta" in this series is a very good type of a form of simile in which the comparison is left to the reader. The first three stanzas give the material scene, the last three the play of fancy. In the popular legend, the proud city of Vineta lies sunken in the sea between Rügen and the mainland, and many a fisherman has caught glimpses of its reflected glory and heard the faint throbbing of its mysterious bells:

> From the sea's deep, deep recesses cometh
> Faintest sound of distant evening bells,
> Bringing to our ears its wondrous tidings;
> Of a city far submerged it tells.
>
> Sunk beneath the ocean's heaving surface,
> Stand for evermore its ruins old;
> From its roofs and towers, deeply hidden,
> Shine again reflected rays of gold.

*A manifest error has perpetuated itself in all the editions of our American poet. In the last stanza, the word *Jubelgesang* appears constantly as "weary song." It seems certain that Longfellow must have written "merry song," and that by an easy misreading of his sinuous handwriting the wrong form found its place in the text, first published in 1839. After this time Longfellow seems not to have paid further attention to Müller's poetry.

And the seaman, who at ruddy evening
Once hath felt its weird reflection's charm,
Saileth ever toward the selfsame vision,
Though steep cliffs be near to do him harm.

. . . . . .

From my heart's deep, deep recesses cometh
Faintest sound, like distant evening bells.
Ah, it bringeth to me wondrous tidings;
Of the love once loved again it tells.

For a world of beauty there lies hidden,
There forever stand its ruins old;
Only in my dreams, that come at midnight,
Shine again its heavenly rays of gold.

Then I fain would plunge beneath the surface,
And would sink in its reflected gold;
And, at times, methinks an angel message
Calls me back into that city old.

The "Songs from the Gulf of Salerno" glow with a Heyse-like prodigality of tropical light and color. Very charming is the little Italian picture, "The Fortunate Fisher-maiden:"

From shore I watched her fishing
Out in her rowboat small;
The fish leaped to the meshes,
As though 'twere to a ball;
The net seemed all too little—
Not one would stay below;
She took it all right calmly,
And thought, "It must be so."

Then from her boat she landed;
She stood upon the sand.
The ocean surged and struggled,
As though 'twould rush on land.
And at her feet bright corals
And seashells it did throw;
She picked them up right calmly,
And thought, "It must be so."

I, sorry shepherd lover,
What is my wooing worth—
Its flowers and its ribbons?
Hers is the whole round earth.
All hearts beat warmly toward her—
A heart of stone must glow;
She heeds it like the sea surf,
And thinks, "It must be so."

If I could offer to her
The heavens' evening blue,
The stars' bright silver sparkle,
For her 'twere nothing new;
She'd hold it up before her
And say, "'Tis mine, you know,"
Would quite forget to thank me,
And think, "It must be so."

What boots thy timid tinkling,
Thou paltry lute of mine?
Although her window's open,
She heeds no note of thine;
For flutes, and horns, and trumpets,
And merry pipes that blow—
She's dancing to their measure,
And thinks, "It must be so."

With his other titles Müller must be allowed that of the poet of German wine, *par excellence.* Heine tells, in the *Harzreise*, of singing some of Müller's songs at a roaring supper on the Brocken. Müller's exuberant spirits find that outlet which was characteristic of the day in which he lived, in the swing and fling of convivial songs. It is no disloyalty to the better spirit of abstinence of our own time and country that we can enjoy the hearty mirth and social unconstraint reflected in these songs. Says the poet:

My muse has turned in
At the innkeeper's door,
Has tied on her apron,
And wanders no more.
She's minded to tend there
The table and bin;
See, she stands at the gateway
And beckons me in.

Many of the *Tafellieder* are very light, and the collection endures much culling; but the jollity of "Est, Est," "King Wine," and "Noah's Ark" is indestructible. The situation in "The Tippler and his Horse" is comparable to that in the "Bab Ballads." "The King of Hukapetapank" is typical of the sheer hilarity of many of the set:

In Hukapetapank there lived
A monarch without peer,
Who, by an ancient use, got drunk
Once every blessed year.

And not a soul dared taste of wine
In all that lovely land,
So long as on a single leg
That king contrived to stand.

But when the king sank to the floor
And from his throne did fall,
The living then waxed riotous
Within that royal hall;
They drank from pitcher and from plate,
From hat and hand they drank—
Lords, ladies, servants, man, and beast,
In Hukapetapank.

Each one became a royal guest,
Long as the king did sleep,
And open in the palace stood
The cupboards broad and deep.
The beggar, as from flowing brooks,
With crown wine filled his cup,
And thought himself a very king—
But then, the king woke up!

Alas, the fun was over now,
Though much was still unquaffed;
The henchmen strode into the house,
And roared, "What, are you daft?"
And whoso lay, or sat, or stood,
Befuddled, or clear-brained,
Was straightway as a toper seized
And in the court arraigned.

So 'twas in Hukapetapank,
And so it goes to-day;
'Twere pity for so good a use
To fall into decay.
But look alive when *Majestät*
Begins to rub his eyes.
A fool is he who lingers then;
Who starts for home is wise!

But there is a more earnest side to these drinking songs. In the praise of Rhine wine is the praise of something which belongs to the old German days, something which has remained unchanged from the times of national power and unity:

German, free, unspoiled, and lusty,
In the German land,
Only wine remains among us
By our river's strand.

It was a period when men of ardent political aspirations had little in the external situation to afford cheer or mirth or anything other than bitterness of spirit. It is characteristic of absolutism that it shuts off the highest outlets of human activity and relegates men to some medium of self-forgetfulness.

I speak now of Müller as the poet of freedom—his best-known rôle ; for many who are otherwise unacquainted with him are familiar with his title, *Griechenmüller*. With maturing powers, which were unfortunately to be ended at thirty-three years of age, he deepens in intensity and fire. His series of "Greek Songs" would demand large consideration in our estimate of his personality and influence, had it not already been somewhat fully presented to English readers.* A close parallel in spirit and form could be drawn between the "Greek Songs" and Whittier's "Voices of Freedom." The note of earnestness seems conspicuously lacking in the poems of earlier days, the days of his contemporaries Körner, Arndt, and Schenkendorf. Though he left his university studies to fight in the war of liberation, there is no echo, however faint, of its spirit in his younger years ; and yet no heart beat higher with the pure passion for liberty. This lies in the very independence of Müller's nature. The patronage of a prince could not debase the sterling metal of his manliness :

> Not with golden chains of honor, in the cage of mean control,
> Has my prince laid me in fetters and wrought evil to my soul;
> In his country's fairest garden vine-clad house he gave to me,
> And, all free, I sing my measures out into an air as free.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Such a song is worthy of him. Glad and free are love and lays.
> Hail, O prince! no servile parrot needest thou to prate thy praise.

A liberal of the liberals, he felt keenly the oppressive years of the conservative reaction ; but those were not times when empty words were noble. In 1821 began the revolt of the Greeks against the devastating tyranny of Turkey—no ideal, stainless national uprising, like the great days of Prussia in 1813, but, for all that, a supreme struggle of the modern representatives of the mighty name of Hellas against barbarism and heathenism. Müller sent out set after set of "Griechenlieder" flaming with tremendous passion—sometimes, it must be con-

* See Max Müller, *Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. iii, p. 108, *ff.*

fessed, reflecting the savage bloodthirstiness of their subject. It is, perhaps, not too much to say that Müller made reactionary Europe feel the pulsations of freedom and compelled it into sympathy with the heroic efforts of the Greeks, while sounding fearlessly the note of the inherent rights of man. The drumbeat of these long lines shook the heavy air of dungeons and fortresses.

To Müller's maturer and more earnest powers belong his three hundred epigrams. It would be an attractive digression to consider the poetic value of this class of writing in a literature which owns a Logau, an Angelus Silesius, a Lessing, and a Goethe. Whatever opinion may be held on this point, it is certain that many of Müller's epigrams are to be numbered among the ἔπεα πτερόεντα which are to live. At first, in a lighter vein, they touch with genial humor on love and wine, then show a more stinging satire and a sticking barb to the arrow, particularly in those directed against pride of birth and official presumption. I cite a few:

JUSTICE AND LOVE.

Justice to each one says, "Have what is thine!"
But Love to each one says, "Have what is mine!"

QUERY.

Plant, would'st rather, closely sheltered, under narrow glass remain,
Or beneath the open heaven feel the storm, the sun, the rain?

THE WINGED WORD.

Has the word the lips once quitted, you'll o'ertake it nevermore,
Though next moment your repentance scurry off with coach and four.

THE REAL INSTRUCTOR.

Follow not, as learner, him to whom the thronging crowds resort,
Who would make a doctor out of each who comes, as though in sport;
Who, with pains, can show the doctor that he is a learner still—
Seek his low and lonely portal, and pass humbly o'er its sill.

VALUE OF ANCESTORS.

Ancestors are ciphers, which, to ciphers added, naught amount;
Set an integer before them, and the ciphers all will count.

RULE OF LABOR.

Be idle and halloo—
Get fed for two;
Work and keep quiet—
Scraps are your diet.

PRAYER WITHOUT WORKS.

Lazy at work, but zealous in praying;
No one to pump, but fine organ playing.

TWOFOLD ART OF GOVERNMENT.

To hate the people and to fear it to tyrants seems a maxim right;
That ruler's wise and good who loves it, yet dares to hold its censure light.

THE WISE WOMAN.

For Heaven's sake, a thousand women, O Solomon, thou wisest man!
"I'm searching always to discover a single wise one if I can."
He searched, unwearied and undaunted; and when, at last, one came to hand,
He there found waiting—God-a-mercy!—an Ethiop from Blackman's Land!

HEAVENWARD GLANCES.

Do you know why Goodman's glances always wander toward the skies?
'Tis because he dare not look a fellow-creature in the eyes.

Müller, whose own life was of so short a span, is particularly the poet of the young. His unspoiled, almost childish, freshness of emotion; his graceful delicacy and charm, added, in so many of his themes, to vigorous manliness; his simplicity and sincerity of feeling; his contagious vitality, are factors which are especially attractive to young Americans and which have a legitimate place in their growth and development. Something there is in him which perfectly responds to the poetic impulses of youth. And is not unspoiled youth, as the normal state, always poetic? Admitting a considerable proportion of trifles in the body of his works, we are none the less compelled to recognize the permanency of the greater part. He is a popular poet, in the best sense of the term—as Burns is a popular poet, and as much of Longfellow's work is increasingly popular. One of the first earnest workers in the inspiring field of thoroughgoing Germanic studies and cradled in the romantic school, he felt how to make available the æsthetic materials of mediæval German; and, as the interpreter and continuator of its vital spirit, in terms of distinctly contemporary life, he must be regarded as one of its most valuable exponents.

The admirable edition of his poems by his son, Professor Max Müller, a type of all that such an edition ought to be, is quite available, and offers what seems to be especially needed in these days of improved "text-books" and anthologies—the complete body of the author's poetical works as the subject-

matter for study and comparison. Those who regard what is simple and artless as shallow and beneath the dignity of earnest students, who think lightly of "Der Glockenguss zu Breslau" because it is not a "Kraniche des Ibykus" or yet an "Erlkönig," who contemn "Die schöne Müllerin" in comparison with a "Maud" or a "Fra Lippo Lippi," may pass our poet by; but as long as that which comes from the heart shall go to the heart his name must keep an honored place among those which are to live and be loved.

James Taft Hatfield

Art. VII.—THE INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION.

Can our economic-social order be mended? The question suggests that it is unsatisfactory; but it is the normal condition of human things to be unsatisfactory. The discontent with it, however, is not of so acute and epidemic a nature as the most discontented persons allege it to be. A vast number of industrious and conscientious persons are quite satisfied with it, though only a few of them are rich or prosperous. Such persons would admit that our economic ways are defective; but if pressed to think about it they would say that no great change can be made in their day, that any change involves danger of reaching a worse state of affairs, and that top-to-bottom reconstruction means, at all events, a chaotic condition for a time. Those who are certain that a new order can be effected, so to say, by touching a button are at the other extreme, and enjoy a happy confidence in their specific cure for our real and imaginary ills. In fact, this generation may be divided into three groups on this question: (1) those who are perfectly satisfied—the invincible conservatives; (2) those who are completely dissatisfied—the impracticable radicals; and (3) those who are awake to the defects of the existing order, but do not believe a perfect order possible, and desire gradual and evolutionary change. The last group contains most thoughtful people. The first is made up of the rich and prosperous or, rather, of a part of them. The second consists of a small number of half-truth thinkers and a following attracted by the half-truth's simplicity and further moved by personal dissatisfaction. Their following contains the greater number of those who know that they have failed and wish to remove the blame for their failure from their own shoulders.

For ten years we have been told that there is universal unrest. This has never been true, and it is less true than it was in more prosperous times. A part of the restless people have lost confidence in panaceas and are trying to make the best of the inevitable world assigned to them by Providence. The vociferousness of the dissatisfied creates the belief that they are a multitude. The noisy, the confident, and the one-idead easily assume that all the people think and will as they do.

But even in hard times an air of resignation, if not of contentment, pervades our populations. No more serious mistake has been made than that of a few persons who, during the strike of last July, saw in vision a new order springing out of the slums and saloons of Chicago. The easy way in which old-fashioned social discipline by clubs and muskets dissipated a mob and a socialistic mirage contains a volume of instruction for the prudent and judicious. The economic-social order has for a long time been undergoing a gradual process of amendment. We are living in an order of progress. The belief that we are exhausting the resources of the present order, that things are going from bad to worse, that a collapse is not far off, is mere insanity—the product, that is to say, of minds out of health. The proof that in this century an amazing progress has been made in the horizontal diffusion of the blessings of life is so bulky and so self-evident that it is impossible to marshal it in all its force. The man who doubts it cannot appreciate the historical perspective. The expending of wealth for the general welfare in innumerable ways, from street lighting and practically free mails all the way up to public schools and free libraries, has immensely increased. The vast sums gathered by taxation and invested in the common welfare indicate a progress in the near past and a sure advance in the near future. The change for the better in the economic condition of the working people is simply so marvelous that words cannot describe it. That railway employees, taken all together, receive higher salaries than preachers and teachers, taken all together, is a fact not doubted. But what a change in the condition, the relative position, of this class of workmen does it indicate!

The increase in the number of the poor is an almost necessary consequence of our importation of European paupers; but we have seen no proof that there is any relative increase of paupers of American stock. These paupers existed fifty years ago, and still exist. Their *fons et origo* are moral, not economic, now, as they were in 1845. The pauper, as a rule, develops, not out of this or that civilization, but out of himself. Distinguishing between the pauper and the poor, the latter owe to bad judgment, to fraud, and to misfortune—such as ill health—their pitiable condition; and they are constantly helped to regain their feet by Christian charity. Probably no community has

more deserving poor than it can provide for. There is a simulated poverty—and it has been growing for years—that of the tramp class, whose poverty is the result of indolence and moral deterioration. The occasion for the growth of this class has been furnished, not by hard economic conditions, but by the infinite charity of the people who feed tramps as cheerfully as they feed their own children. There is not a gleam of evidence that the poor—the not rich—are growing poorer. Many of them are growing rich. Considered as a whole, our population standing between the rich, on one side, and the destitute, on the other, is plainly richer, better housed, clothed, and fed than it was fifty years ago or thirty years ago. The rich here referred to are not numerous; the destitute are not numerous. The practically comfortable and prosperous, including a vast body of workmen, farmers, and traders, are a great multitude. There are few fortunes that were not amassed by living owners. Every community has men whose character and skill have built up comfortable fortunes.

Assuming that we wish to make a great change in economic conditions, what group or groups do we desire to benefit? Surely not the paupers—that is to say, those who are born so, who have a genetic affiliation with destitution. They are worth saving, but no possible social change could redeem them; the work must be done inside, not outside of them. Surely not the tramp group. They can be cured by substituting a stone-yard, where food can be earned, in place of the exuberant charity of every kitchen door. Possibly the poor may be regarded as the beneficiaries of a reform which would make their poverty impossible—a worthy object, if the cost of it be not the greater evil. It will be found that the real reason why economic revolution is desired springs out of the discontent of groups having now all the goods they can wisely use, a part of which they use unwisely, or from an indolent and vicious group. The immense cost of the American saloon is partly the explanation of this discontent. Workmen who cannot spend all their wages for drink and still support their families are the natural prey of the socialist. The impossibility of wasting all these millions in drink and still having the means of comfort is the most distinct cause of discontent with our social order. It is noticeable, too, that whenever a man loses his

fortune by rash speculation he is apt to become enamored of some dream of social redemption. He is partly in the mood of the fox that lost his tail in a trap; partly, also, he is seeking to hide his personal contribution to his own misfortune. Now, is it worth a revolution to provide for our whisky bills without drawing upon family support? Should we "reform" in order that men who already possess may have what they will consider a fairer share? Is it possible to satisfy them? And can anyone tell us what is a fair share? Do we think it possible to make and keep happy those men who gamble away fortunes in speculation? In each case there is an easier relief than revolution. Stop drinking, stop envyings, stop rash speculation; that is to say, if the unhappy groups choose to do so they can work out the reforms required in their behalf.

It is plain that our largest reform remains a religious and moral one. It is character, rather than conditions, which needs improvement. Nor are we in this matter of character worse off than we were half a century ago. If some bad growths have been imported, on the other hand clear evidences of improvement appear in the steady growth of Church membership and in the social gains through public education. An American town mainly filled with American people has a better population than it had a half century back. But the weak places are conspicuous, because they are in large towns. These spots are marked by frequent saloons and a babel of tongues. And the saloons, unbelief, and laziness combine to weaken character outside the area of foreign populations. We have the old duty of preaching the Gospel, and the newer one of protecting our youth against the saloon—a growth of the half century and a markedly dangerous one; for a half century ago intemperance used the bottle or the jug—and a still fresher duty of social cultivation of the poor, with the aim of making the idle industrious and the thriftless thrifty.

A few words must be given to the contention of those who maintain these propositions: "The relatively poor have not their fair share. Granted that we are not destitute, it remains our grievance that so large a part of the wealth made in the half century is in few hands. Granted that ability has produced it in large part, we claim to have produced much more of it than we have received." The ultimate problem here put

is how to determine what is a fair share; and no solution of that problem is possible. To indicate in few words the uselessness of any solution, suppose that A, employing one thousand men, makes twenty thousand dollars a year. This sum, distributed among the men, would add twenty dollars to the wages of each. Who can prove that A's management has not been worth to the men very much more than this sum? There is, however, an easy explanation of large fortunes. They are not fruits of production, but of invention. They are a harvest of natural bounties. We have in this half century vigorously shaken the tree, and it has sent down a shower of affluence. Even in mills, where the shortsighted see only production, invention is the factor of profits. Even in a newspaper office—and there are very rich publishers—the big machines have made fortunes possible. Everywhere you will find an invention under large gains. The wealth of former periods grew out of trade. In our day trade has made no very large fortunes; and, as a whole, traders have not fared better than workmen—the success of a few must be distributed over a large area of losses by the many.

Now, invention was made a monopoly by the framers of the Constitution; and there is only here and there a murmur against it. But the entire body of unusual wealth—in fact, three fourths or more of all our wealth—has grown out of invention, directly and indirectly. The monopoly authorized by patent law gave to a few persons the harvest from the steam engine and its thousands of improvements, from the sewing machine, the harvester, the telegraph, the telephone, and all the other hundreds of thousands of inventions and improvements. A curious person counted one thousand inventions in a single hardware store. They were not curious and rare articles, but tools in daily use. The American people always want the best tack hammer, screw-driver, lawn mower, or ice pick. Now, nearly every one of these inventions means a fortune to some person or persons. And each is a golden apple shaken from the tree of natural bounty. If you go to the forest and the mine you will find the same force at work. The modern saw-mill is full of inventive wit; and it is that wit which makes a lumberman rich—not the trees of the wood, but the inventions of some brain. And, after the saw has done its swift work, the inventions connected with transportation play an equally

important part—not merely steam power, but small devices in wharfs and sidings and switching. Many people heard of the switching tower for the first time during the Chicago strike. This tower contains several distinct inventions. Even the steam shovel has taken to mining iron ore; and a great number of other tools and adjuncts of tools and ventilating devices and lifts and steel drills go to the making of profits in mines. A monopoly of the ores would yield little or nothing if invention did not come to its help, by making it possible to exploit the mine with a profit. We have deliberately, and wisely, perhaps, chosen to give to the man who shakes the tree the golden apple which he brings down. Nearly every great industrial fortune can be traced to invention, and the exceptional cases are not free from its influence. The unwise have enriched a few men by perfectly voluntary contributions. The Gould fortune is distinctly of this character. The lambs of the stock exchange lay down to be sheared by this master exploiter of human credulity. His fortune was the wool of the uncomplaining lambs; it was not taken—not a fleece of it—from the backs of patrons of railroads. Nobody has the smallest right to complain that great speculators have made him poor; the lamb lay down and asked to be sheared. But the wealth of the Carnegies and Pullmans is the product of inventions. In the case of the former, the workman's sharing in the gains was divulged by a congressional investigation. The amazing and peculiarly modern spectacle of workmen riding to and from a mill in private carriages has not dropped out of the memory of the thoughtful.

It will be said that patents expire, but the enriched go on enriching themselves. It is true that patents expire, but invention does not. The best machine is always under the shelter of a patent; this is true, even of the best screw-driver. Probably no industrial establishment could be profitably carried on upon expired patents. Steam, the telegraph, and the telephone are three great and typical inventions; but in each group living patents of appliances and methods are essential to profitable use of the main and old invention. The whole field of profit-yielding industry is sown thick with invention. But most thoughtful persons believe that the gains from this source have begun to decrease. This is partly because there are only a few great natural bounties and the first harvest from telegraphy and

other great electrical discoveries has been reaped. So, also, in the working of ores, in sewing machines, reapers, and printing presses. There will be a perennial growth, but the later harvests will be relatively smaller.

If, then, we wish to disturb the economic order of distribution in a radical fashion the place to begin is with the only real monopoly in the country. The several quasi monopolies, such as that in hard coal, are insignificant in their aggregate as compared with the legalized monopoly of invention—that system by which the best tool, method, and machine are always a monopoly. No one proposes to change this, unless the collective scheme expects to enslave the inventor. Of course, it must enslave him or kill him to achieve its end. But in this country only a few dreamers have reached that end of the problem. And it is apparent that, if the collectivist committee took possession of all the present tools and machines, it would be but a few years until the collectivist committee found itself distanced and undersold by the produce of new machines. It has to be constantly remembered that the collectivist program must abolish every form of liberty and that it assumes the willingness of genius to serve in chains. But we do not grudge the inventor and the invention a great reward. It is remarkable that, in a generation addicted to abuse of all gainful ability, the noisy ranter has but rarely railed at the gains of invention. He does not trace the Bell telephone back to the patent office. The reason is plain. The inventor is our universal favorite. And we are wise; he cheapens goods, and thus increases our power to enjoy them. He has reduced the cost of calico from thirty-five cents a yard to five cents; and he has done this thing over a vast region of consumption. Many of us have so unconsciously absorbed these gains—and some of us are workmen—that a pile driver could not force the plain truth into our heads.

If we do not dream of enslaving or killing the inventor who is the author of modern wealth, why do we listen to the rant about the hard-hearted and greedy capitalist? If we would leave the invention all its legal rights, why should we restrict the rights of the man whose ability combines labor and capital to their mutual benefit and its own profit? The explanation is historical and interesting. Of course, there is back of this explanation a large fact of ignorance. The mass of our people do

not seem to know that the inventions make most of the gains, and they in ignorance add together the rewards of invention and of managing ability. They are helped to this mistake by amateur economists and enthusiastic sentimentalists, who are as ignorant as their audience in all such concernments as tools and machines. The historical explanation of the raid upon managerial ability is the tariff controversy. The belief in a fabulous wealth produced by protection is widely held, because it has been preached on every political stump in the country. Manufacturers have themselves to blame for this denunciation and vilification. They have been guilty of the indiscretion of asking for protection mainly in order to maintain wages. Large numbers of them have repented of their error and ceased to commit it. It is the simplest of facts that an American manufacturer paying European wages need not fear his European competitors. The manufacturer has supposed that he must pay higher wages than a French, German, Belgian, or English producer. He has begun to doubt this "must;" and he will probably retire from this field of politics, except as his workmen may wish him to represent their claims to protection. If the workman does not need protection nobody does. The interest of capital having declined to the European standard or close down to it, the capitalist partner of ability needs no help from protective legislation. The other partner of ability does not know whether he needs protection or not. The labor leader asserts that he can do all the protecting by the universal strike process of stopping consumption. These hints respecting the cause of the hatred of managing ability suggest that this hatred cannot be permanent. This wealth-maker is of the same order as the inventor—he is an inventor, though unprotected by patents. He combines capital and labor, pays to each its market price, and often wrests a profit from the combination. Often the result is a loss; it has come to pass that manufacturers fail about as often as traders, and that only a small fraction of all who engage in production, excepting those who make large gains from patents, spend their lives in the business and die rich. Many of them fail in spite of some protection from patents. The truth we shall slowly learn is that this sort of genius, that of industrial management, is less abundant than the inventive skill which we protect by patent laws. Progress

is not likely to increase the desire to enslave or kill our industrial generals, the Napoleons of the mill, and to elevate a saloon-fed socialist orator to this responsible and beneficent office. We shall know his worth in good time.

No doubt, workmen believe that they are paying a heavy tribute to capital. Their leaders are careful to place before them every case of large dividends, and to ignore all the cases in which there are no dividends or only small dividends and all the bankruptcies. These leaders say much about watered stock, and refrain from proving that water habitually gets dividends; the fact being that the greater number of miles of railroad in the United States pay no dividends upon stock, and that very little manufacturing stock receives more than normal interest, and much of it no interest but eternal hope. Then, too, the rewards of invention and the profits of ability are all confounded together with capital as dividends, alike by the companies and their critics. The workmen are receiving tribute from invention and, probably, from managing ability in every successful industry; the wages are raised or maintained by both forms of ability. So far as capital and labor, strictly defined in each case, are concerned in production, both are alike and equally helpless and dependent for employment and reward upon ability in inventor or manager. The latter may own capital, but it is not as a capitalist that he becomes an effective force. A machine is useless—and capital is machinery in *esse* or *posse*—without ability to operate it successfully; a workman stands idle in the market place until some one hires him. Capital, like labor, is a hired servant paid interest or dividends. Labor invariably gets its contract wages; capital is often defrauded of its hire. These facts are here touched upon because they have been forgotten by some, and are unknown by other, intelligent persons.

Much that is offensive to sound feeling and is made to seem hostile to workmen does not pertain to the sphere of industrial capital. This remark refers to the speculative combinations of some wealthy persons who, in the field to be now entered, are neither inventors, managers of industry, nor capitalists, but speculators. The late Mr. Gould was an "operator" of this sort. His gains did not add a cent to a freight bill or deduct one from a day's wages. They came out of the small or large

purses of men who chose to deal with him or his agents on the stock exchange or to buy the chromos he printed and sold as bonds. In the railway field a number of "Napoleons" have cut a large figure, nearly all of them at the expense of other small and great capitalists. In coal, ores, and oil the same speculative spirit has produced like results—a large aggregate of losses of small capitals in exchange gambling. In anthracite coal the "combine" has for the time levied a tax on consumption; but the present writer has not been able to find another case in which speculation has clearly and plainly raided the public; and the reason here is that this kind of coal is easily cornered and converted into a quasi monopoly. But the consumers' side is not herein discussed. If workmen receive less wages than they ought in these anthracite mines the cause is not speculation, but an oversupply of miners. As a rule, the quasi monopolies with speculative attachments pay high wages and get the best quality of service. This is notoriously true of the Standard Oil Company, which is reputed to be the best served corporation in America. It is worth an exclamation point that, with all the talk and printing about "greedy corporations," workmen and workwomen prefer to work for corporations! The fact is worth more than all the canting about greed by people whose greed is probably as keen as that of their neighbors.

"The conflict of capital and labor" is a false, though popular, expression. Capital, as such, has its relations and contracts, not with labor, but with invention and management; and labor has its relations with management. The half century has developed, under the influence of our amazing progress, a more complex organization of production; but popular language adheres to the simplicity of a former age. Our immense production is made possible by the inventor. The success of industry is wrought out by the manager. The three old partners—labor, capital, and land—depend absolutely on the two new partners. The genius of invention and the services of management have created our industrial world, and they drive all its wheels. Put in their place some committee of saloon-bred socialists, and the wheels will cease to revolve. It is true that the laborer meets land, invention, capital, and management welded into one, and is not practically at fault in speaking of them as one, since he must treat with them as one. But many

of the advisers of workmen are in fault because they claim the entire product for labor. Why are they not honest enough to attack the patent laws? Why do they ignore managerial skill? For the simple reason that inventor and manager command the general esteem and that capital is an historical Shylock. But neither the socialist nor his dupes have stopped to reflect that he is claiming for mill hands all the fruits of invention and management; and they do not seem to know that Shylock must hire out his ducats in an open, competitive market. The outrageous doctrine is that only one kind of laborer is worthy of his hire, and that a cunning theft, which strips the merchant of Venice of all claim to his ships, can be dignified with the name of a just reform by calling Antonio Shylock.

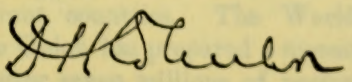
The sound economic view is that the tendencies of our whole system are healthful, and that, if they are directed and maintained by moral education of the whole people, our progress must effect a steady improvement of the moralized toilers. They will work fewer hours, receive an increasing share of the annual product, and continue to furnish in an increasing measure the ability and the capital of the country. For the demoralized part of the toilers there cannot be much hope. Their drink bill of seven hundred millions a year and their saloonized morality fatally handicap them. The political demagogue and "worker," who manages and directs them through the saloon, is their enemy and ours; and his lurid eloquence and frantic advice make trouble and tumult, but cannot produce revolution. The sober toilers are far more numerous, and their alliance with the other sober people will be fully competent to suppress insurrection. Meanwhile, education, religion, and thrift are making capitalists of a vast multitude of laborers. On the other hand, the increase of capital must constantly cheapen it in the hands of industrial ability; and the gain will mean cheaper products, and that will mean cheaper living, and that will mean an increase of real wages. Those who vehemently complain of falling prices do not realize that they are fighting against the stars in their courses, and that this inevitable fall enriches the vast majority of the people and widens the demand for the labor of the millions. That a dollar in wages to-day will buy twice as much as it would in 1875 is a fact of wide-reaching beneficence. If, which may be doubted,

the debtor is under a hardship through this fall in price, this debtor is not a workman dependent upon wages. If the capitalist-debtor is losing, the wage-earner is surely gaining, through the inevitable fall in prices.

Whatever evils may accompany the growth of fortunes through invention and speculation are in the way of removal by means of progressive taxation. We have already begun to levy upon large incomes and to take a share of the dead man's millions. These methods of redistribution are sure to be extended. They are capable of such extension as will remove all the dangers from large accumulations; and the proceeds of such taxation may be so applied as to reduce materially the public burdens now falling upon the poor. But a single large obstacle lies across this path. That obstacle is the grossness, mendacity, corruption, and thieving of our municipal politics. But whenever our workmen join the ranks of municipal reformers the reform will move swiftly to victory, and the proceeds of taxes upon large fortunes will be so used as directly to benefit all the people. To free streets, light, libraries, schools, and parks may be added free water, free heat, and, perhaps, free homes—all this on the assumption that the very rich are likely to go on owning more than half the wealth of the nation. If the evil of large fortunes is half as great as it is proclaimed to be we shall not be slow in applying the effective cure. The cure is as yet applied hesitatingly and tentatively, only because the extent of the evil is doubted by the sober and thoughtful leaders of the people. Nine tenths of our wealth having been produced in a half century, a large proportion of the producers of it being yet among us, and statistical tables of wealth being largely untrustworthy, it is not strange that sober persons refuse to believe that we have amassed sixty thousand millions in half a century. The large fortunes are grossly overestimated, and half the national wealth may be, like Antonio's, "in supposition."

For some time now the general public has regarded the speculative capitalist with growing suspicion; and this distrust has taken the form of law in restraint of trusts and, more effectively, in decisions of the courts of a distinctly unfriendly nature. The trusts have a "running mate" in the field of labor organization. A trust seeks to obtain a monopoly of some product, as refined

sugar or oil. A new order of labor leaders comes forward with a scheme to gather all workmen into one organization, and thus create a monopoly of labor. During the last year these new monopolists have done much mischief, caused much loss to workmen, created a profound distrust toward themselves and a vague apprehension of calamities they may bring upon us. Judicious people need not fear that a trust will control any necessary product in such a way as to enhance its cost to the consumer, or that any organization of workmen will ever be able to stop all labor at some appointed signal. The labor leader will be less hindered by law and the courts than the speculative capitalist; but this monopolist of labor will encounter a greater obstacle than laws, in human nature itself. Recent strikes have revealed the unwillingness of what may be called the aristocracy of labor—engineers, for example—to risk their fortunes in a crowd composed of the untrained masses of workmen. This is but one of a vast number of restraints on monopoly and of obstacles to the creation of a stupendous army obedient to a single will and in possession of every railroad, boat, mill, and mine. And not the least important group of these restraints is found in the bosoms of nonunion men—who are four fifths, at least, of all workmen—in the feelings and motives which keep them outside of unions. The alert and careful citizen does not propose to have his fortune disposed of in either of two places—the lodge room of a union or the private office of a trust. Whatever temporary victories either kind of monopoly may gain will be dearly paid for in a final and crushing defeat. The progressive conservative is still in the saddle. He is trusted by a vast majority of the people. This kind of leadership makes progress by inches and feet, not by leaps and bounds. But in half a century we have moved a vast distance upward, and we are still on the march. The radical has his uses; his way is the way not to go, and his clamor stirs us up to improve the old roads to material well-being.



Art. VIII.—THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

Slowly but surely is the human race rising and advancing. It is steadily swinging up into God's sunlight. A great moral revolution is progressing. We believe it will not cease until God's beneficent purposes for humanity shall have been fulfilled. The wicked, usurping prince must be dethroned. The diadem must be removed from the wrong head. The crown unworthily worn must be taken off. The low must be exalted. The high must be abased, until the prophecy is fulfilled, "I will overturn, overturn, overturn it: and it shall be no more, until he come whose right it is; and I will give it him." And then shall all the kingdoms of this world "become the kingdom of our Lord, and of his Christ: and he shall reign forever and ever."

Of this final consummation the harbingers are abundant. Civil governments are becoming leavened with the principles of righteousness, as they are contained in Christian ethics. In the recent past the sword was the chief, almost the only, solvent of international disputes and difficulties. Arbitration, statesmanship, and diplomacy are the methods now preferred and adopted for adjusting all such differences. A measure, originating in the British Parliament, is at this time nearly ready for submission to the United States government, as the basis of a treaty to be concluded between the British government and ours—a proposition that hereafter all disputes arising between Great Britain and the United States shall be settled by peaceful negotiations, and never by force of arms. All the leading reforms of the age, social, political, municipal, industrial, and monetary, are being vigorously and persistently pressed. All of these have as their basis and animus the morality of the Gospel. The drink habit and the drink traffic are enlisting the attention and opposition of Christians and philanthropists in many different countries. The World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union has prepared a monster petition, signed or attested by over seven millions of persons, against the liquor traffic, to be presented to all the civil governments of the world. Crimes against society which hitherto have been unnoticed and unpunished are now placed under

the ban of law. Among these are the social evil, the circulation of obscene pictures, cruelty to animals, lotteries, etc. We may not overlook these signs. They give good promise of the elevation of society and the reformation of civil government. They foreshadow the oncoming of the universal reign of righteousness, when the world shall be dominated by moral principle, rather than by force of arms, when swords shall be beaten into plowshares, and spears into pruning hooks. The progress of art and science and the multiplied discoveries and inventions of modern times are nearly all of them in the interests of humanity. They are, also, proof and prophecy of the ascendency of Christianity.

The projection of Christianity into the administration of national and social affairs clearly and strongly denotes the great moral changes silently going forward in Christian lands. The Pullman strike of last year has fixed public attention upon this subject. Congress has suggested a provision, which may not at once become a law, but which will doubtless soon be embodied into law, for amicably settling all disputes between capital and labor, not by strikes or mobs or violence, but by peaceful arbitration. Great revivals of religion are occurring in many of the nations of the world. These examples are only a few of many that might be adduced. They all point in one direction. They show an upward and forward movement. As we study the events of the closing years of the nineteenth century they give a retrospect of intellectual and spiritual progress, which excites a strong hope that the coming century will surpass all former developments in like lines ever known in human history. The nineteenth century has been one of preparation, incitement, and impulse for greater achievements beyond it, rather than a period of completed and unrelated results. Its momentum, projected into the coming century, will doubtless yield triumphs of Christianity in every direction and on a scale of grandeur never equaled. The conflicts and strikes arising from the friction of labor and capital are, let us believe, only the clearing-up storms which shall usher in the empurpling dawn of universal peace and love.

By steam and electricity the world is to-day closely compacted into general and intimate association, thus facilitating mutual uplifting, improvement, and evangelization. There are

no distant, foreign, outlying regions. All the parts are in touch. Vibrations at the center are instantly felt on the periphery. Besides this, there is a common expectation prevalent, an earnest looking for the incoming of an era of unprecedented peace, unity, elevation, and advancement. The whole world seems to be under the spell of this enchantment concerning a glorious advent which seems imminent. A like prevalent desire and unrest to that which preceded the coming of Jesus, as "the desire of all nations," nineteen hundred years ago is seen today in the turning of all eyes and hearts to the unfolding future for some new and marvelous developments, in moral and spiritual lines, which shall be of world-wide scope. As God satisfied that ancient desire by the advent of Jesus, and as he meets and satisfies all right and normal desires, so we may reasonably expect that he will satisfy this very general and intense expectation by a fuller and more attractive manifestation of the Lord Jesus Christ than the world has ever yet seen.

A few speculations concerning the coming century are submitted, which will, perhaps, enable us to canvass our subject in a more orderly and thorough manner.

I. Upon what principal lines and in what forms may this advance be expected? In other words, judging the future by the growing tendencies of the closing century and its immediate predecessors, what, may we safely conclude, will be the character of the approaching century? Its advance should be, and it doubtless will be, on like lines with those on which, more than on any others and all others, Christian civilization has advanced in the past.

1. There should be, and doubtless there will be, an increased unity and cooperation of all Christian denominations. The early years of this century were marked by sharply defined lines of controversy and debate between all the Churches. It was not so much an emulation as it was a rivalry, competition, and contention for denominational ascendency. Each side was sparring and contending against all others. Ephraim envied Judah, and Judah vexed Ephraim. Within the recollection of those yet in active life, the different Churches were rather hostile camps against each other than solid, united organizations against the common foe outside of all Christian folds. All this is now happily changed—indeed, almost entirely reversed.

If one should enter a meeting of any one of the leading denominations he would find the same general doctrines taught, the same calls to like diligent duty, the same features of religious experience and life and growth as in each of the others. Like sermons are preached, like results follow the ministrations in all the different Churches. There is a oneness of faith and effort and zeal and sympathy and a brotherliness toward all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and truth. All this is typical of a fuller and more real unity of the great body of Christ's disciples in all the different religious denominations. And is not this, after all, the real unity for which Christ pleaded in his last prayer for his disciples on the night of his betrayal? One of the most effectual ways of overcoming evil with good and of convincing this world of its supreme need of Jesus is by this obvious and practical unity of all his disciples. This is expressly stated in the Saviour's last prayer: "Neither for these only do I pray, but for them also that believe on me through their word; that they may all be one; even as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be in us: that the world may believe that thou didst send me." He did not mean that they should be necessarily one in form, one in creed, one in outward name, one in external Church organization; but that they should be one in vital union with the Father and the Son, one in Christian faith and zeal, and one in aim and effort to win men for the kingdom of Christ. What truer or more real unity could there be than a common faith in God and in his Son and a common zeal in extending the kingdom of God?

2. The nineteenth century, and especially its latter half, has been marked by organized, systematic, aggressive movements against the powers of darkness, by large and increasing offerings for Christian missions, both home and foreign, and by successful work in furthering Church extension and Christian education, both among freedmen and whites. To higher Christian education in the United States probably fifty millions of dollars have been devoted by philanthropic givers. And this is the greatest missionary age the world has ever seen. The Churches of this country contribute not less than ten millions of dollars a year for Christian missions. In translating the Bible into nearly all the languages of earth and in multiplying and

distributing the Holy Scriptures the Bible societies of all Christian countries have kept fully abreast of the general missionary movements of the century. Christian literature and education are organizing and wielding immeasurable forces Some of the largest publishing plants in the world are maintained by Christian Churches. In the Methodist Episcopal Church alone, the net capital invested for this object amounts to over three millions of dollars. In almost all the habitable parts of the earth Christian missions are planted. Heathen languages have been studied, and Christian books have been published in them. Missionaries can now proclaim to every man in his own tongue the wonderful works of God.

In the last twenty-five years humanitarian institutions upon a wide scale have been planted. Christianity is repeating the acts of mercy which Christ wrought when he was here among men. Equally significant is the present advanced status of Christian womanhood. The order of the King's Daughters numbers about three hundred thousand members. It preceded the modern deaconess movement of the Protestant Churches. Then, also, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and women's home and foreign missionary societies have had wide and effective operation. This is the era of womanly action and sympathy in Christian lines. The world stands convinced that Christian women have come to their kingdom for this emergency. The existence and increase of Young Men's Christian Associations in all parts of the world and the grand moral results they have achieved furnish another illustration of consecration to God. In the same general line, though of more recent origin, is the organization of the young manhood and womanhood of all the Churches in Christian Endeavor societies and chapters of the Epworth League. This is one of the phenomenal facts of modern times. It is a prophecy of grandest and sublimest moral victories. From a condition of comparative indifference and inaction, the youth of our Churches have become earnest, enthusiastic workers for God. In all these lines, and with all this accelerated movement, we are but in the seeding time for larger harvests for God's reapers. In nature the harvests exceed the sowing. And by as much as this is true by so much will the moral successes of the coming century outweigh and outmeasure those of its predecessors.

God says he will make his Church "an eternal excellency, a joy of many generations." He says, "For brass I will bring gold, and for iron I will bring silver, and for wood brass, and for stones iron." More money, more prayers, more faith and stronger faith, deeper, holier consecration, a more burning, quenchless zeal, a broader, quicker sympathy—these must come. All these accessories of quickened spiritual movement must flow and throb in all personal and Church life and in all Christian doing, until wildernesses of sin and sorrow become the Lord's gardens.

3. In the coming century there should be, and there doubtless will be, a growing control and direction of all secular life by spiritual forces. The supremacy of God's law over all parts of man's being and over all methods of his action will become more and more recognized as the true character and mission of Christianity are displayed and apprehended. The two great commandments, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbor as thyself," will absorb all of man's powers. The distinction between sacred and secular in Christian life will disappear when it is clearly seen and understood that all of man's nature is under God's direction, and that what God has cleansed and what he claims may not be considered by us as "common or unclean."

4. The practical application of Christian principles will be a conspicuous feature of the moral progress of the coming century. Christianity makes full provision for all of man's nature, relations, and conditions. The infallible specific for the cruelty of oppressors, for the wrongs of the oppressed, and for the conflicting claims of labor and capital is the golden rule—"All things therefore whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye also unto them." This principle can be applied to all of human life and reduced to universal operation in all human affairs by the restoring and redeeming power of Christ's grace. As this is done the selfishness and greed engendered of human depravity, which are so painful and repellent, will disappear.

5. Another form in which advance will be made will be a growing use of the representative idea in civil government. Feudalism was a prolific source of despotic rule. Christianity

has put down feudalism; it is to-day shaking the thrones of injustice and oppression. Our republican institutions are honored and loved by the people of the world. Dwellers in Asia, Africa, and Europe, and the islands of the sea look hopefully, longingly, and lovingly upon our starry banner and our free institutions. In the coming decades this process will go on until their ideal of liberty, drawn from our example and based upon the representative element in our government, shall have become the practical heritage of those now living under nonrepresentative institutions. There must be, and in the nature of things there will be, a gradual but irresistible extension of Christian and republican government. This is the judgment of all enlightened people. The people's right to be heard and felt and to have a voice in framing and directing their own institutions will be insisted upon, and their demand will be heard and granted.

6. In the development of humanity the Anglo-Americans are to hold a leading and controlling position. The Anglo-Saxon people are the governing power of the world. They have the ruling, colonizing instinct. They dominate all the nations of modern times. They control a large part of the world's area at the present moment. In the world's commerce, in its diplomacy, in its statesmanship, and in its literature, laws, wealth, and civilization the Anglo-Saxons lead and direct. But the finest type of the Anglo-Saxon character and personality is the genuine Anglo-American. It is conceded that the Anglo-Saxon is gifted largely with the governing instinct; so that on his world-embracing empire the sun never sets. But the Anglo-American has given the very highest proof of his self-governing capacity in the institutions of the free republic which he has founded, defended, built up, and extended, until it reaches from ocean to ocean and from the lakes to the gulf. His laws are just and equal. He is acquisitive. He issues books. He invents. He discovers. He travels. He carries on great transactions, commercial and otherwise. Of the Anglo-Saxon type he is the most intense and energetic specimen existing. He is a born discoverer and adventurer. Nervous, wiry, self-contained, thoughtful, resourceful, aggressive, most properly he leads the procession of the forces of modern propagandism, both of free institutions and of Christian civilization. He rep-

resents far more aggressive impulse and power than his illustrious and historic predecessors. Besides all this, Americans are the most intensely religious and Christian people of the world. They give more liberally and do more to extend Christianity than any other people. In the van of the great organizing, Christianizing army of progress belongs of right the irresistible, irrepressible, resourceful Anglo-American.

7. All this being conceded as to the man of the future, destiny points to the Western Hemisphere as the theater on which chiefly will be wrought out and displayed the unfolding panorama of the final and the grandest achievements of all human history. Of necessity our republic will have become the United States of all America—North and South—from Cape Horn to Bering Strait, together with all the adjacent insular appendages in both oceans. As a mighty, prosperous, self-governing nation, with no contiguous monarchy to be feared as a menace or felt as an irritant, the republic of all America will deservedly challenge the respect, the love, and the admiration of all mankind. This manifest destiny of a great continental republic, covering and ruling a hemisphere and having a population of five hundred and fifty millions and an area of fifteen million seven hundred thousand square miles, will be found as practicable as it is inevitable. Possessing the facilities of steam and electricity, the solidarity and direction of our vast empire and the working of our free institutions can be as readily and effectively extended over a hemisphere as they now are over our present domain, and are as practicable for half a billion of people as they now are for sixty-five millions. This is not merely an ideal picture. At our present rate of increase, before the twenty-first century shall have opened the existing population of the United States will have become four hundred million. The twenty-six millions of the rest of North and South America will have grown to sixfold their present number, say to one hundred and fifty millions. As we have seen, they will all have been incorporated into our great republic. This will give us an aggregate population of five hundred and fifty millions. How tremendous the moral power of such an example of self-directing government and civilization, having almost one third the area of the world and more than one third of its population, and all with one flag, one

nationality, one blood, one language, and one grade of civilization! Words cannot portray, nor can thought conceive, the magnificent moral ascendency of such a nation over all other nations and peoples.

II. In achieving the exalted rank described—the highest among all the governments of earth—and in gaining the glorious ascendency in moral character, what principal obstacles are to be encountered? Briefly—for space does not admit of minute detail—they are ignorance, selfishness, and the repellent elements of sinful, fallen human nature. One of the most inveterate and formidable of these obstacles is the drink traffic. All patriots, philanthropists, and Christians must engage in a fight to the finish against this gigantic evil. Under the power of God's truth, as wielded by good men, the monstrous, outrageous wrong will go down. Zeal in propagating knowledge can remove the most stolid and widely existing ignorance. Love is the infallible cure for all man's malignant sinfulness and selfishness. The power of God's Holy Spirit can give divine energy and efficacy to all well-directed efforts to beat down opposing hindrances to the march of God's "militant, embodied hosts," to set all moral wrongs in process of adjustment, and to make all things new. Human zeal and persistence, with God's reinforcement, will prepare the way and lead up to the glorious destiny predicted in God's great purposes for man. No room is left in this study for pessimism. Pessimism is mildew, blight, paralysis. It staggers and prostrates all reforms and all progress.

III. What are the other accessories and auxiliaries to be employed in bringing about and in hastening the fulfillment of this exalted destiny? The hearts, the hopes, and the sympathies of all mankind will be in league with our aims, and will contribute in large measure to their realization. The divine purpose and plan for the development and elevation of humanity will cowork with the agencies employed to crown the highest human aspirations with the supremest and divinest fruitions.

IV. What will be the results of the ultimate achievement of this great destiny? Around the whole world peace will have spread her snowy pinions. War, with its barbarism and cruelty and waste, will have ceased forever among all peoples and in

all lands. The nations will learn war no more. Science will have reached its sublimest discoveries. All of them will be seen to have wrought for human uplifting. Probably two hundred miles an hour will be the rate of our velocity over the earth's surface. Machinery, propelled by electricity and applied to all the purposes and needs of man, will do most of the work heretofore done by human hands, thus giving all men more time and strength for intellectual and moral and spiritual work. All superstition and all the debasement resulting from superstition will have passed away. The climax of moral grandeur will have been reached. Truth will have the right of way as against all frauds and falsehoods. Every city shall be a Jerusalem, because it will be a city of truth. Every man will speak the truth with his neighbor. In the gates of all the cities all men will execute the judgment of truth. Then shall be fulfilled one of the most beautiful and blessed of the prophecies—"Mercy and truth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other. Truth springeth out of the earth; and righteousness hath looked down from heaven." Beneath his own vine and fig tree every man shall dwell in safety. Every form of evil will have disappeared before the insufferable blaze of God's truth and righteousness. All human suffering caused by disobedience to right law will have ceased. The streets of the cities shall be full of children, playing in the midst of the streets thereof, without peril to life or limb or morals. The apocalyptic angel shall have sounded the decree of the final consummation: "The tabernacle of God is with men, and he shall dwell with them, and they shall be his peoples, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God."

Thomas H. Crane

Art. IX.—WERTER RENICK DAVIS.

Dr. Davis lived in an heroic period. Church and State had crises in his day which will scarcely come again in all the future. Methodism can never go back to its beginnings. A new Kansas can never be opened to the world. Such doors are shut. But those who were alive and were equipped to enter when those doors were opened had opportunity to play an exceptional part such as we may never duplicate. Dr. Davis was soldier, educator, orator, saint—a strange combination, but one growing naturally out of what he was and when he lived.

Werter Renick Davis was born in Circleville, O., April 1, 1815, and died in Baldwin, Kan., June 21, 1893. At the age of fifteen he entered Kenyon College, a school under the control of the Protestant Episcopal Church, of which his father, a man of fine qualities of mind and heart, was a member. His mother was a Presbyterian, a woman of strength, tenderness, and piety. When but fifteen he strayed into a Methodist meeting, was convicted, and converted. To that day this man of God always looked back with profound delight. It was with him a favorite phrase that "paternally he was an Episcopalian, maternally a Presbyterian, but a Methodist by the grace of God." To him Methodism represented so much of divine truth, life, fervor that it was an altar whereon to sanctify many a gift. In that day the name was a term of derision. To become a Methodist meant what in our time is almost inconceivable; there was obloquy connected with it. Especially was this true of the attitude of the Protestant Episcopal communion. Young Davis's life in college became so intolerable because of this contemptuous spirit that he left without graduating, and at the age of nineteen began life as an itinerant, entering the goodly fellowship of toil hallowed by such great souls as Asbury, Lee, Simpson, and Durbin.

Dr. Davis was born before Waterloo sent Napoleon to his desert rock to die; at the close of America's second war for independence; before the coming of the locomotive and the appliances of modern civilization. During his lifetime of three quarters of a century a mighty impulse was given to progress in every department of human activity. At his birth the

supreme political experiment of sixty centuries was but begun. England had not yet learned that America was free. The territory of the Union reached only from the Atlantic to the great desert of the interior. The Mississippi was an untrodden pathway till steam pressed it with burning sandals. Even in 1835, when this young itinerant entered the Ohio Conference, Kansas, the field of his most extended labors, was unknown to the world. There were but eighteen States, with a population of barely eight millions. He lived to see forty-four States, with a population of over sixty millions. At the time of his birth there was not a college in Methodism. The denomination had only 211,000 members, with 704 preachers and 2 bishops. He lived to see 56 colleges, 2,524,053 members, 14,553 ministers, and 18 bishops. Two thirds of the continent were practically unoccupied by civilization when this young circuit rider carried his saddlebags into the hill country of Virginia. Neither he nor anyone knew what throes of mighty pain were requisite ere the civilization of the future could be born and the Magna Charta of our independence speak the full truth freely. For more than fifty years this man gave the vigor of an unflagging devotion to the spread of the Church and the purification of the State.

On June 6, 1835, at Hillsborough, O., this lad was licensed to preach by James B. Finley. He was but twenty—a stripling, like young David, strayed from the sheepcote to the field of war. On August 20, 1835, he joined the Ohio Conference at Springfield, and was appointed to a circuit in Virginia. On May 4, 1843, he was married to Miss Minerva Russell, a lady of beauty and accomplishment, with whom he lived fifty full years, she being to him a constant inspiration and joy. He was, as he himself said, "a member of the Cincinnati Conference by division, of the Missouri and the Kansas and Nebraska Conferences by transfer, and of the Kansas Conference by division." At the time of his joining the Ohio Conference it contained such men as Morris, Hamline, Thomson, Finley, Nast, Trimble, Moody, Power, Strickland, of whom it might be justly said, "There were giants in those days;" and among such he soon became a man of mark. His was a presence which would attract attention anywhere—in form tall, slender, erect as a pine; with a face of rare intelligence; penetrating

eyes, that revealed love and tenderness, but could flash like drawn swords when occasion demanded; hair black as the raven's wing in his younger days, but for the closing thirty years of his life as white as almond blooms; and a military carriage to the day of his death. In the days of his early ministry his appearance betokened the orator. His faculties were all alert, fire was in his heart, tempests were in his blood. The antislavery agitation, then in its incipiency, claimed and received his allegiance. He was at one time imprisoned in Virginia for preaching antislavery sentiments. Dr. Davis on an important occasion said, "I have been in the ministry half the lifetime of the Church." His life had been contemporaneous with its most splendid growth. He loved the Church with an affection perennial and beautiful, he labored for it with a loyalty which knew neither variableness nor shadow of turning, he both preached its doctrines and exemplified its spirit; and his services were appreciated and honored. He was a member of three General Conferences, of the Ecumenical Conference in London, and of the Centennial Conference in Baltimore. The Indiana State University recognized his scholarship by conferring upon him the degree of master of arts. He received the degree of doctor of medicine from a medical college in Cincinnati, and the doctorate of divinity from the Indiana Asbury—now De Pauw—University in 1859.

In Ohio he served the Church for eighteen years on "old Union Circuit," at Dayton, Sandusky, and similar appointments. Men are now living who remember the young man eloquent. Marley and he were associates on Union Circuit. Marley was noted for his reasoning powers, Davis for his oratorical gifts; and the people were wont to speak of this rare combination as "logic set on fire." In those days the people called Baptists were inclined to be argumentative, and young Davis came to be in demand to debate the question of baptism. Among his bound pamphlets are some of these discussions, printed by the communities where the debates were held. Indeed, for many years he found delight in giving a word of exhortation and sound doctrine to his friends of the immersionist persuasion; and on such occasions they were treated to something besides water. When he was among the pioneers of Methodism in Kansas his services were in frequent demand for this pur-

pose; for Campbellism was ubiquitous, and the doctor no more shunned an encounter of this sort than a warrior shrinks from battle. In 1853 Bishop Morris transferred him to St. Louis and stationed him at Ebenezer Chapel, at a time when that metropolis needed a man of superior powers, of brave and judicious mind, who could conciliate when conciliation was right and possible. His next remove was to McKendree College, whither he went as professor of natural science. This position he filled for five years. For one year he was acting president, and was offered and refused the presidency. At this time and often thereafter vigorous efforts were made to draw the eloquent preacher eastward. Bishop Thomson especially insisted on transferring him to New York. Dr. Davis, however, believed it God's will that he should identify his life with the work of the Church in the great valley of the Mississippi.

In June, 1858, he accepted the presidency of Baker University; and in September of that year he came to Kansas, where for more than a third of a century he labored with a zeal that was as unwavering as his love to God and man was warm and tender. Baker University had been chartered in February, 1858, and was consequently the earliest founded of all the colleges of arts in Kansas. This institution was located at Baldwin. Alone of all the college seats in Kansas, Baldwin has this unique distinction—the city is the result of the college; and this fact has had a marked influence in forming both town and college. President Davis was empowered to organize his own faculty; and in September, 1858, Baker University began its career. To this work Dr. Davis gave the vigor of his manhood. He was a man of mighty faith, of heroic courage, of industry which knew no weariness; and every power of mind and heart he flung into his work. To the day of his death Baker University shared with his family the love of his heart. He was wont to read at chapel service in those early days, when the prairies were one virgin waste, that impassioned prophecy, "The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them;" and he lived to read it again many times when the college for which he had toiled with unremitting devotion had reached an enviable pinnacle of influence and success. He lived to see it a power in the State, equipped with the necessary appliances for successful work, with substantial buildings,

a faculty of twenty-one teachers, and an annual enrollment of over five hundred. As he lay on what proved his dying bed at the commencement season of 1893 his love still clung to the college as a father's to his child. He would ask the president regarding the welfare of the institution when his voice, which had been like a battle trumpet, was little more than an echo of its old self He would wake from his slumber and ask, "Is it near commencement?" and when answered in the affirmative would whisper, "It will be the first I have missed in more than thirty years, save when in the army."

When President Davis came to Kansas a great struggle was in progress. Kansas was the first battle ground between slavery and freedom. What seemed but a baptism of blood, however, proved a baptism of life and power. Kansas received the noblest colonists that ever came to an uninhabited waste. Sumner, Phillips, and other souls of kindred greatness spoke in words that burned like lightning bolts and pointed men to the new battlefield of liberty; and New England emptied her treasures of money, brain, and heart that Kansas might prove a barrier against the encroachment of that devouring power which knew no moderation. In such a crisis this preacher arrived; and, of all who came, none was better equipped to play a man's great part in the drama. He was by nature chivalrous; no knight had more of courtesy. He was the soul of honor, with a poet's temperament. The occasion seized and inspired him. He was the intimate associate of Lane, Robinson, Goodenough, Montgomery, and other leading free State men of those tremendous days. He was chaplain of the Wyandotte Convention, rendered historic as the body of antislavery men which drafted the Constitution of Kansas, and a member of the first Legislature. His voice sounded like a prophet's speech. He was in the secret councils of that stormy time, a politician as well as an educator and preacher. As president of Baker University he preached a sermon on the murder of John Brown at Harper's Ferry; and the Hon. Everett Dallas declared it the most remarkable effort to which he ever listened. Man and occasion met, and his genius for speech was set on fire.

In March, 1862, Dr. Davis became presiding elder of the Baldwin City District of the Kansas Conference. In September of the same year he enlisted for the defense of the

Union. He was appointed a chaplain, was afterward made colonel of the 16th Regiment of Kansas Volunteers, and became commandant of Fort Leavenworth. Always a man of military bearing, he looked, when mounted on his black charger with the trappings of war, every whit a soldier; and so long as he lived he was to the old soldiers always "Colonel Davis." After the surrender of Lee he took part in an expedition against the Indians in the Black Hills. During that campaign an incident occurred so characteristic as to be worthy of mention. Great annoyance arose from dancing, which often continued all night, to the discomfort of those who did not participate. Accordingly, Colonel Davis issued an order, that, when dancing, gentlemen should occupy one building and the ladies another. It is needless to add that the dancing immediately ceased. Among the mementoes which his wife and children prize most highly are a brace of gold-mounted revolvers and the ivory-hilted saber, presented to him by his regiment, which used to clank at his side. He was as faithful and valiant a soldier for the Union as he was for his "Master, even Christ." Fear was a feeling he never knew. On more than one occasion, though unarmed, he attacked and mastered armed thieves in his house. At another time, his oldest son falling into a deep well, he made a perilous descent upon the rope, rescued the boy, and was drawn up, with his hands burned to the bone by the friction of his swift descent. When preaching in Virginia he once delivered from jail a young lady teacher imprisoned for the heinous crime of reading the *New York Tribune*. During the expedition to the Black Hills he quelled a mutiny among the soldiers by appearing before them and declaring that, unless the mutiny ceased by such an hour, he would turn the cannon upon them. His eyes could flare like watchfires in the wind, and the glance of his wrath was terrible.

Yet he was by instinct and grace a man of peace; and when the war was over he reassumed the presiding eldership and, for fourteen consecutive years, served the Church in that capacity. He rode districts on which he could reach home only once in six weeks. When the flooded rivers cried "no thoroughfare," he, as intent on the discharge of his duty as if an earthly general had commanded, swam streams like the Asburys of old.

Nothing daunted him. Unostentatiously he kept his line of march, the goal of which was the seizing of Kansas for God; and it is safe to say, as has been declared by one entirely conversant with the facts, that to no one man is Kansas Methodism (the largest denomination within the borders of the State) so greatly indebted as to Werter R. Davis During those years of the planting of the Church he acted at three distinct times as president of Baker University, assuming that responsibility when others left the post unoccupied. He at one time saved the college from mortgage foreclosure by giving a note, in company with others, when the creditor declared that if Dr Davis would stand surety for the debt he would be satisfied; and this note he paid all alone. He was associated in those early ministerial labors with such men of God as Denison, Mitchell, Rice, Fisher, Dearborn, Lawrence, Bowman, Dennis, Shaw, and others. He habitually clung to his friends with affectionate tenacity.

During the closing thirteen years of his ministry and life he was in the pastorate. But, from the time of his coming to Kansas in the fifties, wherever he might live he looked on Baldwin as his home. Thither he hoped to come at last to die. And it was esteemed a special blessing from God that the last ten years of his life were spent in or near Baldwin. Here he saw his youngest son graduate from the university, saw him enter the sacred ministry, and heard him preach his first sermon. Erect, with step elastic, with a heart like the heart of youth, with hope eager as if life were a coming, rather than a departing, glory, without censoriousness, with a lofty nobility of spirit and bearing, with only love for his brethren, and rejoicing in their labors and successes, he commanded respect and won admiration and confidence. Although a man of firm, unwavering convictions, he was not dogmatic nor self-assertive. His dignity was without haughtiness, his modesty as genuine as that of the violets of spring, his courtesy natural and perennial, his faith fixed as the stars, his loyalty to country, home, and God unswerving in its absolute fidelity. Such a man moved in and out among the students, an inspiration and a blessing.

As an educator Dr Davis shaped the destiny of the first college of Kansas and made his indelible impress on the educational work of the State. But, although a soldier and an

educator, he was first, last, and most of all a preacher. As a preacher he was fervent and powerful. For years he was conceded to be the most eloquent man west of the Mississippi. Essentially an extemporaneous speaker, his flow of speech was wonderful. The writer has heard many speakers, but none whose fluency of utterance surpassed his. His thought moved on high levels. His eloquence was like the rush of streams on the mountains. He was, like all orators, unequal; but when the occasion fired him and the spirit filled him he was sublime. Truly, "his were eloquent lips." It is to be regretted that a distaste for writing kept him from recording the facts of his career, for they were as interesting as a romance of chivalry and possessed rare historic value. Having associated on intimate terms with the leading men of the Church, his memory was stored with reminiscences. It was his often expressed desire that God would let him die in the work of the active ministry. His prayer was answered His exalted conception of the Christian ministry is expressed in his own words, "I know of no greater honor, no greater dignity, no greater privilege than to be a minister of Jesus Christ." The Gospel colored his life. To him impurity of word or thought was ignoble and unthinkable. Not one dishonorable deed is in his record. To his own household he was unspeakably dear. His was a saintliness which shone like a star, unwavering and undimmed in the daily routine of domestic life. And it was a solace to him that on his dying bed he saw all his living children, as he was soon to see those who had died long since, when death should be swallowed up of life. Having loved his own, "he loved them unto the end," may be reverently applied to him.

W. A. Smyth.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

THE aldermen of Chicago have "resolved" that mail cars ought not to be run on the cable car lines, because men will thus be deprived of employment. This action is, perhaps, the latest revolt against machinery, against the reduction of the amount of human effort in obtaining a desired end. This war upon machinery must be near its close. The politicians are almost the only people so little enlightened as to keep up a show of fighting, and we suspect that many of them really know better and are only practicing the make-believe of the demagogue. Intelligence perceives that the man released by a machine is a man gained for some service. To find the new work and place the man in it involves a little delay, but the gain of a man is certain. The power of the machinery of the world is reckoned up as equal to the labor of one thousand millions of men. There are not more than one third so many men on this planet. Machinery is doing three times as much work as all the living men could do. If the fears of politicians had been realized there would be no work for anybody; but, in fact, the involuntarily idle are not claimed by the most pessimistic orators to exceed two per cent of all men living, or say five or six millions; and the most careful and capable estimate the number at not more than one per cent. It is somewhat amazing that persons of any intelligence should fail to see the logical argument respecting machinery. We have in effect done what we would have done if we had captured, on Prospero's island or some other fairy land, one thousand millions of slaves. These slaves, these natural forces, which do not suffer weariness or pain, are doing our hard work for us, and doing three times as much as we could do if we ourselves suffered the weariness and the pain. This is the right view of machinery. The workman is not a slave, he is a master over slaves—a slave driver, if one prefers the word; and his slaves, the unconscious forces, require of us no pity. A human arm or back is released whenever we set a unit of these forces at work—forces in place of a man. Generally we have found it easy to employ the emancipated man in a profitable way.

The proof is that, in a vastly increased population, so small a fraction represents the enforced idleness which annoys and afflicts us.

Could anything more incongruous and improbable be suggested than that the *Methodist Review* should be found going through the United States mails as lottery matter? Nevertheless, we have been solicited to become a party to such lawlessness. Mrs. Joanna Doiron, of Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, Canada, has requested us to assist the Roman Catholic congregation of that city to build a new cathedral by sending a sample copy of the *Methodist Review* to be disposed of by lottery in a grand bazaar, the lucky winner of the prize to be entitled to receive our *Review* gratuitously, at our expense, for one year. The lady has the modesty to hope that we will not regard her request as presumptuous. We almost doubt the correctness of her letter's postmark, for a spirit thermometer, immersed in her proposition, registers a degree of coolness which would locate its origin at least as far north as Baffin's Bay, with date of midwinter. The writer of it suggests that we communicate directly with the Rev. J. C. Macmillan, secretary to the Bishop of Charlottetown. Our duties leave us no time for such correspondence; and, furthermore, while in general we have no objection to circulating our *Review* among the subjects of the amiable old gentleman resident on the Tiber who is hallucinated with the notion that he is deputy God Almighty, we are yet deterred from complying with Mrs. Doiron's request, partly by the fact that, in the region where we reside, the lawmaking and law-interpreting authorities have declared that Church lotteries are as clearly gambling as any other lotteries, and by the additional fact that a United States law, passed September 19, 1890, prescribes penalties of fine and imprisonment for using the mails for the conveyance of lottery matter of any kind. Whatever minor errors we may inadvertently fall into, we desire, at least, to prevent the *Methodist Review* from appearing as lottery matter and its editor as a lawbreaker.

And just here it may not be incoherent to add, incidentally, for the benefit of those whom it may concern, inside or outside the membership of Christian Churches, that judges in various States of the Union have seen fit and thought it necessary to give public warning, by charging grand juries, that progressive euchre "is gambling within the meaning of the law"—"gambling plain and simple"—and liable to the punishment prescribed by statute; so

that any house where this game is played may, under such laws, be as properly raided, and the participants arrested and locked up, as if it were the lowest gambling hell in the place.

THE SUPERIOR TRUTHFULNESS OF MEN OF SCIENCE.

An admirer of Professor Huxley, after saying that the author of *Science and Hebrew Tradition* might adopt Strauss's words, "I have fought for that which seemed to me the truth, and against that which I have thought error," expresses the hope that many will do Huxley the justice to say of him that "he has done that which he felt able and called upon to do, and has done it without looking to the right or to the left, seeking no man's favor, fearing no man's disfavor." And we are told that, if we are willing to say so much as that concerning this distinguished scientific teacher, it will, though far from being a complete account, be a eulogy, and a high one. So much sincerity as is thus claimed for Professor Huxley we are in no wise reluctant to concede; but what we strenuously deny is that, this being true, he is entitled to exceptional praise, as seems to be intimated, on account of superior devotion to truth; and what we take occasion to affirm is that immense multitudes of men and women in the ministry and membership of the Christian Church have lived and labored with equal sincerity, veracity, fidelity, and fearlessness, and with far greater self-denial, on behalf of truth supported by evidence, and that in Christian circles through the Christian ages such devotion has been a common thing—in fact, is the veriest matter-of-course commonplace of Christian history from first to last.

Professor Huxley has announced that it is the high resolve of modern science to take nothing for truth "without clear knowledge that it is such"—a commendable resolve, unquestionably, and manifesting a spirit which might easily have been imbibed from a certain Galilean fisherman, whose words do not appear at any disadvantage when placed beside the best substantiated scientific statements of to-day: "For we have not followed cunningly devised fables, when we made known unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, but were *eyewitnesses* of his majesty. For he received from God the Father honor and glory, when there came such a voice to him from the excellent glory, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. And this voice which came from heaven we *heard*, when we were with him in the holy mount. We have also a more sure word of

prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day star arise in your hearts." This calm, dignified, and sober statement is in the manner of a man fully on his guard against accepting or teaching anything for truth "without clear knowledge that it is such." How did this humble fish dealer, without the aid of the example of modern science, attain this high level of scrupulous and critical veracity?

Occasionally Professor Huxley, with a sidelong, reproachful glance at religious teachers, lectures mankind on the immorality of "professing belief in propositions of the truth of which there is no sufficient evidence." Now, it happens that, at the moment when this scientific professor of superior ethics is thus endeavoring to do his duty by us as our moral instructor, Professor Weismann asks our attention, and undertakes to extend our hitherto neglected education, by pressing on our faith and acceptance a hypothetical developmental process called "natural selection," the truth of which he admits he cannot demonstrate in detail, and the operation of which he says he cannot even imagine. He informs us that we "must" accept this unimaginable process as scientific fact, because, if we do not, we cannot explain things as we find them without admitting the presence and working of intelligent design in the universe, to which he for some mysterious reason seems averse, although we are unable to perceive anything disastrous or disgraceful in such an admission. What we are moved to say, in the presence of Professor Weismann's dogmatizing about natural selection, is that his effort to disciple us to his imperative theories encounters disadvantage in the fact that we, to our own good fortune, had previously received from Professor Huxley such pure ethical instruction, untainted by religion, as prepared us to resist any attempt to gain our assent to "propositions of the truth of which there is not sufficient evidence," especially to an hypothesis concerning which the advocate himself says it cannot be demonstrated or imagined, and concerning which the Marquis of Salisbury, in his address as president of the British Association, publicly said at Oxford that not a single instance of variation by natural selection is known; that the doctrine is purely hypothetical; but that, on the contrary, significantly enough, variation by artificial or outside selection, that is, selection devised, directed, and modified by the purpose of a superintending intelligence, is one of the most familiar facts known to modern science. This, from so high an authority as the

president of the British Association, is calculated to hurt Professor Weismann's feelings, because it points straight at the old theistic argument from design which was regarded, even by Voltaire and John Stuart Mill, as mighty and formidable—by the former, indeed, as irresistible.

As for ourselves, having been elevated by lofty scientific tuition to the level of refusing to take anything for truth "without clear knowledge that it is such," we are inexpressibly shocked at Weismann's unscrupulous attempt to lead us into immorality; and against him, as a promoter of inveracity and a corrupter of morals, we would like to make complaint to our instructor, Professor Huxley, whose career ought not to close until he shall have written a few "lay sermons" for the purpose of reforming some well-known members of the scientific brotherhood, who, at sundry times and in divers manners, have labored to induce mankind to take something for truth without sufficient evidence that it is so.

As for modern science, we admire and applaud its brooding attentiveness, its minute industry, its patient assiduity, its steady, piercing gaze and ingenious search into the secrets and mysteries of the universe; but the intellectual hauteur of some of its spokesmen, when they taunt Christian believers with mental imbecility and degradation, is hard to endure; and, when to this is added ethical superciliousness, charging us with an obtunded conscience, an inferior morality, untruthfulness, and a false pretense of knowledge, we feel warranted in producing for the occasion an ancient ethical authority, of wide repute and still undiscredited by any attainments of modern scientists, which once, in the morning of human history, declared, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor."

ARMENIA'S PITIABLE PLIGHT.

During the Turco-Russian war a young man, a graduate of Robert College at Constantinople, while crossing the Balkan Mountains was captured by some of the hill tribes and questioned as to who he was, whence he came, whither he was going, and what was the object of his journey. His captors decided that, as they had no means of knowing whether he was telling the truth or not and as dead men make no trouble, the safest course was to give him a permanent quietus. So he was laid on his back on the edge of a cliff, with his head hanging over, convenient for

decapitation. The executioner stood with his left foot on the breast of the victim, and was feeling the edge of his sword to make sure that it was keen enough to do its work with neatness and dispatch, when the chief commanded him to let the young man up and said, motioning toward one of the tribemen: "My friend here doesn't want you killed, and says he will take charge of you and be responsible for you. So I have given you to him. You go along with him and do as he bids." The young man was finally permitted to go free, and, when narrating his experience to Dr. Long, was asked by him what thoughts occupied his mind when he lay with his head over the cliff and with the executioner running his finger along the sword edge. He hesitated to tell, lest Dr. Long should think his thoughts not proper ones for a man on the brink of eternity, but, being urged, replied, "The thought that filled my mind was, what a pity I am going to die without seeing the solution of this Eastern question!"

That was years ago; but it seems probable that, if the young man lives to be a hundred years old, it will be possible for him to die in his bed with the same regret in his mind. For the delicate, intricate, difficult, bewildering, exasperating, and dangerous puzzle called the Eastern question is apparently as much unsolved as ever. What prophet can fix the date of its solution?

It is this which makes Turkey a storm center, from which may burst at any time a war tempest that would shake three continents and might embroil half a dozen nations. The rival interests of these nations, alert to preserve the balance of power among themselves, are intriguing for advantage and pulling diplomatic strings which continually complicate and ensnarl the situation. The Turk subsists on Europe's jealousies. The "sick man" is kept alive by stimulants, because the prospective heirs or intending claimants to his estate are not satisfied that they are in position to get all they want of his effects if a distribution be made now. Each prefers that the Turk keep it to having a rival get it. At least, that is true of the more powerful governments interested in the Eastern question. It is this situation which gives the Turk immunity and permits his inveterate wickedness to continue. The powers that be in Europe ignore or condone his crimes, because they profit by his continuance in power. England has four times saved the Ottoman empire from destruction. In addition to this, a peace sentiment honestly works to postpone the downfall of Turkey, because it dreads the conflict which might ensue if

armed nations should let loose the dogs of war to fight for possession of the sultan's empire.

Out of all this comes Armenia's misery—her pitiable plight unhelped, and her despair uncheered, by any hope of redress. Our sad belief is that her outraged and slaughtered thousands will long lie unavenged. The Turk is an immense scoundrel, who will permit and perpetrate all manner of crimes and cruelties. He has ever-recurring spasms of ferocity. If allowed to live he will still continue to rob and violate and kill. He is an eternal liar, and when interrogated and accused will always blandly deny that anything wrong has been done. Moreover, when reports of fresh deviltries reach Europe, even the best nations are not agreed in willingness to have them investigated or in desiring the Turk's proper punishment if he be proved guilty. In 1876, when the Bashi-bazouks and other irregular troops in the service of the Porte had inflicted indescribably horrible atrocities on the peaceful population of Bulgaria, Benjamin Disraeli, prime minister, declared in the House of Commons that it was doubtful if the reported crimes had been committed. The Tory premier's device was to deny the existence of a situation with which he did not wish to deal. It was a brave Ohio boy who put Disraeli to shame. J. A. MacGahan, most daring and brilliant of war correspondents, intimate and trusted friend of General Michael Skobeleff, went to Bulgaria, accompanied by Eugene Schuyler, United States Commissioner, and on the scene of the massacre collected a mass of positive proof which, when he dispatched it to England, overwhelmed a sneering, hypocritical prime minister, gave the advantage to Gladstone, who was loudly declaring, "It is time that the Turk and all his belongings should go out of Bulgaria," and so reversed the tide of European public opinion as to make possible poor Bulgaria's liberation. MacGahan not only, from the distance of Bulgaria, smote Disraeli on the mouth and silenced him, but Archibald Forbes truly says that this modest young man from Ohio altered the map of Europe.

As it was in 1876, so is it in 1895. When public indignation, voiced especially by Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bryce, and the new Bishop of Hereford, forces England to make a show of inquiring into the Turkish massacre in Armenia, up stands Sir Ellis Ashmead Bartlett in the House of Commons and warns the government to beware of assailing the Porte, because its friendship is of enormous value to Great Britain. When European governments go through the form of calling the Turk to account, make a men-

acing show of force by maneuvering their squadrons along his coasts, and, through commissions and consuls and embassadors glittering with gold lace and bristling with authority, demand of him a promise of better behavior in future, it is, on the one side, uncertain how much reality there is in the apparent wrath of these governments or sincerity in their avowed intention to enforce decency, and it is, on the other side, certain that the Turk, who is a poltroon and a cur, will cringe and whine and promise anything that is peremptorily exacted by his circumstantial masters, without the slightest intention of keeping his word.

The Turk's increasing wickedness through five hundred years sets the minds of good men on an effort to recall some of the energetic language of the imprecatory psalms, which have their function and place in human affairs. If the Lord had not provided us with them we would have had no phraseology, justified by Scripture and not profane, at all adequate to certain emergencies; and even men familiar with the 109th Psalm, as well as with the considerably expressive *répertoire* of papal anathemas, find nothing in them to do justice to this case, and, after exhausting all accessible and imaginable speech, abandon in despair the effort to describe and express him and record their failure by unanimously adopting the phrase, "the unspeakable Turk." The Porte stands for a violent and bloody misgovernment which is simply organized brigandage, and its flag curses every inch of soil that lies under it. The scimetar is the curved shadow of the crescent materialized in steel; wherever the one floats above, the other, soon or late, smites beneath. This most accursed government should be obliterated from the face of the long-suffering earth, without other ceremony than the rattle of musketry and thunder of cannon. To drive the Turk across the Bosporus is not enough. What have the scourged and plundered populations of Asiatic and African Turkey done that they should be doomed to remain under the blight and curse which southeastern Europe cannot endure? If the map of Europe, Asia, and Africa could be wiped clean of every trace of the Ottoman empire, even though by a sponge dipped in blood, mankind would breathe more freely, as in an atmosphere purified from pollution and stench by the removal of a putrid carcass. At this writing the press of England and America announces the immediate and effectual reformation of the Turk by concerted action of European powers. Gladly would we put faith in such reports, but with history open before us we are unable so to do. Hence we pity Armenia.

THE ARENA.

"DIVINE REVELATION"—A REJOINDER.

Dr. Ensign McChesney, in criticising in the *Methodist Review* for May my article in the January *Review*, has fallen, it seems to me, into nearly all the errors of those who are afraid to recognize God as being in touch with the present, lest they shall disparage the past; when, in fact, the best, and almost the only, rational ground for believing that God has had anything to do with the past is the fact that he is doing the same now with the present. It may, indeed, be that God is not now working in some respects as he once worked, the time for such work having gone by; but that he has ever been more in sympathetic, inspiring, vitalizing contact with humanity than he is now is what I cannot believe, because the occasion for such contact has not passed. So, then, when Dr. McChesney asks, "What does the writer mean by present-day inspiration?" I answer that I suppose myself to mean exactly the same kind of inspiration as when I speak of the inspiration of the past. For it is impossible for me to conceive how the quantity or quality of inspiration can be affected by questions as to past and present. The trouble in discussing this question with my critic is that we have not a common unit of measurement. It is true that we both talk and write about the "inspired men of old," and we both believe that they were inspired; but we doubtless differ almost *toto cælo* as to the degree of their inspiration and the effect of it. He must, therefore, not forget that, when I claim that some men are inspired now and that divine revelation is continuous and progressive, I make the claim from my point of view, and not from his, and that my teaching, whether good or bad, is to be considered in the light of my own definition of inspiration, and not in the light or darkness of some other man's definition.

The following statements, it seems to me, should be accepted without debate. Some parts of the Bible are inspired in a very high degree, some in a much lower degree, and some not at all. From this it follows that the Bible, in different parts, is inspired in different degrees. How could it be otherwise, since different men are not inspired in the same degree, and the same man at different times is inspired in different degrees? Later inspirations and revelations are always building upon former ones; therefore, the divine revelation contained in the Old and New Testaments is continuous and progressive, the progress of doctrine in the New Testament being especially conspicuous. Dr. McChesney's question, then, "Does he mean that divine revelations on a parity with those of the Scriptures are still being given forth?" must have for its answer, that that depends upon what parts of the Scriptures are specified. There is nothing on a parity with the Sermon on the Mount or with anything else that Jesus taught. In him there are no inequalities, for he never falls below himself. But not so Paul; he seldom rises to the height he

attained in the twelfth chapter of Romans or in the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians. Call the teachings of the present time inspired or not, revelations or not, there is much in them not only on a parity with, but far above, some of the teachings in the Scriptures—in respect, especially, to the nature of God and the ways and works of God. To prove this fact it is sufficient to ask, Who now would be willing to go to the Old Testament for his theology? And yet the Old Testament is a large part of the Scriptures. Certain it is that, prior to the coming of Jesus Christ, not only had no one found out God to perfection, but the world had scarcely begun to find him out at all, the teaching concerning him having been very imperfect; and this imperfect teaching is to be found in the Old Testament Scriptures. Take, for instance, the 109th Psalm, in which we have this prayer for the wrongdoer: "Let there be none to extend mercy unto him: neither let there be any to favor his fatherless children"—a prayer which is utterly opposed to the love and mercy of our God. And then, again, who can rationally believe that Samuel represents the "God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ," even though he does come with a "thus saith the Lord" in his mouth, when he commands Saul to destroy Amalek and spare nothing, but to "slay both man and woman, infant and suckling?" And then think of that act of Samuel himself, hewing Agag, a prisoner of war, in pieces—an act so atrociously barbarous that if it were committed to-day the whole world would stand aghast.

I am a Protestant; and I protest that, while I fully believe that the Holy Scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation, I do not believe that all they contain is necessary thereto. I do heartily believe that they contain the word of God, but I do not believe that all they contain is that word. In my poor judgment our great present need is that we shall cease to be bibliolaters. The Bible is a great book, and there will never be another like it, no matter how much inspiration it may contain; but we need not worship it. It contains the word of God; but so, also, does much else, in some good degree, contain that word—nature, for instance, which has been too much overlooked, not to say misinterpreted and maligned. I do not fear at all, with my respected critic, that we shall weaken the authority of Scripture revelation by "magnifying beyond all proper proportion the importance and authority of present-day religious thinking;" but I do think that, by putting the Scriptures so much in evidence to prove what they were never intended to prove, we are in danger of leaving God too much out of our present lives, and so losing the blessed assurance that he is with us to uphold, inspire, and give success.

That I should refer to the men of old as "'earthen vessels,' and very earthen at that," and that I should claim that we have now better specimens of Christian manhood than they, seems also to trouble my critic. I said they were "earthen vessels" because Paul had said so; and I said that they were "very earthen at that" because history proves it to be true. Think of a carefully selected "twelve," selected by Jesus himself, one of whom took into his guilty hands the pieces of silver for which he had sold his Lord; another of whom in one night denied him three times,

the last time carrying his denial to the point of declaring that he was not only not his disciple, but that he did not even "know the man;" and all the rest of whom, except John, turned their backs on him and fled when the supreme moment of peril came. And then why should Dr. McChesney be startled because the claim is made that we have better men now? Has the world made no progress during all these nineteen Christian centuries? Has Christianity, indeed, accomplished nothing?

Let us have done with the thought that we cannot do justice to the present except by disparaging the past. In some sense it is of necessity disparaged already. In its time it was good scaffolding; but, like scaffolding, it must come down. Its chief place henceforth is in archæology and in history. Progress all along has been made, and evermore will and must be, by forgetting things that are behind. Hence, I said that a wise eclecticism will reject of the past, as well as receive from it. This, also, disturbs my critic, because he is not sure but that I intend to apply this to "prophets and apostles," as well as to Athanasius and Calvin. I fully believe in this wise eclecticism, because Jesus himself was an eclectic. He came to give us a new dispensation, in doing which he both honored and superseded the old. He substituted his teachings for those of Moses in several important respects; and, except as to the moral code, which, because it has its roots in universal humanity, is broader than Judaism, Jesus delivered us from the whole Mosaic economy. And because he had "fulfilled" it he cast it off, so that since then there has been neither temple, nor altar, nor ritual, nor sacrifice. All that was permanently valuable in the old was taken up into the new and living way. To me it seems exceedingly safe to follow in the footsteps of the Man of Nazareth, and to make, not prophets and apostles, but Jesus Christ himself the "chief corner stone." And when my brother, because I make Jesus the "one inerrant Teacher," asks, "What about the faith which was once delivered unto the saints?" I can but answer, "That faith is all right, and it is so because it does not depend on the saints, but was 'delivered' unto them." The faith is all right, because it is God-given and Christ-given. It was given to Peter and Paul, but also before Peter and Paul and before the New Testament Scriptures, and, therefore, in a sense, does not depend on any of them. Jesus alone is the Author of our salvation and of our faith. On that foundation I am able to build; but I am not able to build on the foundation of fallible infallible Churches, popes, or councils. One may greatly respect, one ought to respect, that consensus of Jewish and Christian opinion through which we received our canon of Scripture; but that it put nothing in which it were better to have left out and left out nothing that should have been included is too much to ask any Protestant to believe. This book, incomparable in its way, may, like the human factor in its making, be also an "earthen vessel," and yet be full, as it is, of divine contents. This book, like our Lord himself, is both divine and human—inspired of God, and yet having in it a large human element—and all the more valuable because it is so.

Minneapolis, Minn. J. F. CHAFFEE.

ETHICS AND ECONOMICS.

MARKED changes have taken place in the development of economic science within the last twenty or thirty years. Among these, one of the most prominent features has been the recognition of the intimate relationship between this science and that of ethics. Of the existence of this relationship there can be no doubt, and of its practical character sensible thinkers have for the most part been fully convinced. There is, nevertheless, a certain unfortunate confusion of the two subjects, even in the writings of some of our ablest men. Into this confusion Dr. Fradenburgh, in his interesting article in the last number of the *Review*, on "The New Political Economy," seems to me to have come very near falling. Even Professor Ely, whose competence as an economist is pretty thoroughly established, is not wholly free from this fault. For my part, I do not see any more propriety in the expression "ethical economics" than in the term "economic ethics." It is making a mental mixture of elements that do not combine. The terms are mutually exclusive, however mutually influential they may be.

An ethical act is one that may be tested by moral law—something that ought or ought not to be done. An economic act or measure is to be tested by its probable effect on men in society, as respects wealth. These tests are not at all the same or similar ; and yet both may be applied to the same actions. Conceivably, at least, a course of action may be economically wise but morally wrong, as when the British government compelled China to allow the importation of opium ; or a measure may tend to diminish the wealth of a nation, while at the same time it is morally right, as when food is contributed to starving Ireland or money is given for the support of Christian missions. In such a case the ethical principle must have right of way, not because the economic character of the measure is changed, but because every other interest is subordinate to the ethical interest. It is probable that, to a mind which could discern all possible consequences, it would appear that no act in violation of moral law would be economically wise; just as it is probable that conduct prompted by omniscient self-interest would coincide with that prompted by self-forgetting love. But man must be governed by discernible, and not undiscernible, motives. A great deal of our conduct may be determined by either prudential or ethical considerations. Theft, robbery, fraud, violence, riotous acts, and many other kinds of conduct would have a bad economic effect in a community, even if they were not violations of the moral law.

The relation between ethics and economics is more intimate than that between ethics and other sciences, pure or applied, for the reason that they are both social sciences; but the relation in the former case is not radically different from that in the latter. For instance, much might be learned in the art of surgery by human vivisection. But, whatever may be the decision in the debate now going on respecting animal vivisection, no one claims that the former is morally allowable—not that the ethical prin-

ciple in the slightest degree modifies the scientific, but it prohibits its application. So of æsthetics and ethics. We have heard, indeed, of grand artistic effects secured by cruel tortures of persons. Art may be limited in its operation by morals, but neither changes the intrinsic character of the other.

There are some actions respecting which it is not clear whether they are virtuous or vicious; it may, also, be doubted whether they are economically advisable or the contrary. In the one case, the determination is controlled by the moral law; in the other, by economic principle. Whether I may invest money in a trust company is to be considered first on ethical grounds. If the project is unrighteous, that ends it; I may pursue it no further. If it offers no obstacle I must ascertain whether it is prudent. It may be found that it is both morally right and ethically prudent, or that it is both wrong and imprudent, or that it is economically prudent but morally wrong, or that it is morally right but economically imprudent. The two tests are totally distinct—they belong to entirely separate systems of thought.

One great danger arising from this confusion is that it strengthens the tendency just now strong with certain writers toward bold utilitarianism—the ethical theory that right, in the ultimate analysis, resolves itself into what is, on the whole, advantageous or profitable. While, as has been intimated, it is very likely to be true that all right conduct will in the end be found to be profitable, it by no means follows that it is right because it is profitable.

GEORGE M. STEELE.

Auburndale, Mass.

THE PASSAGE FROM JOSEPHUS.

A BROTHERLY criticism from the pen of Dr. H. M. Harman, of Dickinson College, appears in your last issue, on my article entitled "Josephus and Jesus," which was contributed to the March-April number of this *Review*. He says that I bring forward "about all the arguments that can be alleged for the genuineness of the famous passage in Josephus concerning Christ;" and he might have added, with propriety, about all the arguments which have been alleged in opposition to its genuineness. For I am not interested to champion the genuineness of this celebrated passage, but am interested in its historical investigation. This was the object of my contribution in the first instance.

The doctor takes a middle ground—that the passage of Josephus is mostly genuine, but partly spurious. That view is not new to me, but seems to be fraught with difficulties. In support of his position Dr. Harman quotes the opinions of Gieseler, Tholock, and Renan. I also quoted a still longer list of modern scholars and critics favoring the genuineness of the paragraph. There was no division of opinion in regard to it until the sixteenth century. Now there are opinions of distinguished men for the genuineness of the passage and against it, as well as for the partially spurious view. Thus, obviously, the whole question is left indeterminate.

But mere opinions cannot settle such a question. However great our respect for the judgment of distinguished men, the time has gone by when their opinions are to settle the convictions of others upon any question open for critical investigation. Thoughtful minds do not care to believe a thing because somebody else thinks so. The demand is now, not for opinions, but for the reasons for the opinions, because an opinion is not evidence, and often is the merest conjecture.

The doctor thinks that the sentences, "He was the Christ" and "He appeared to them alive again during the third day," etc., are spurious. Nearly all the rest of the paragraph he admits as genuine. Now, will the doctor kindly furnish us his reasons, not opinions, for branding these two sentences as spurious, while he admits most of the remaining part of the paragraph as genuine? He should do this in the light of the following facts: (1) That there was no division of opinion touching the genuineness of this whole paragraph until the sixteenth century; (2) that it appears in full in every manuscript and version of Josephus's works; (3) that the *usus* obtained then, as now, to mention as a fact, not that which the writer himself believed, but that which was cognized and accepted as public opinion, as is illustrated in the case of Pilate when he wrote as the superscription on the cross, "This is Jesus, the King of the Jews," when at the same time the Jews had no king, but were ruled by himself as the Roman procurator, or as is illustrated in the case of Mary, who, on finding Jesus at the age of twelve disputing with the authorities in the temple, said, "Behold, thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing," when Mary knew better than any one on earth that Joseph was not the father of Jesus, except in the adopting and reputed sense, as explained by Luke in the very next chapter—"Being (as was supposed) the son of Joseph." It is easy to understand that, among the many pretenders who arose calling themselves Christ, this one was the one cognized and accepted by the many by way of preeminence, precisely as Pilate wrote that Jesus was King of the Jews in the esteem of the people.

It would be an immense contribution to historical science if the learned doctor should furnish convincing reasons, not mere opinions, why he particularly excepts these two sentences out of this famous paragraph and holds them to be spurious, especially if he should refute the reasons based on the points enumerated in the last paragraph. Truly, in historical inquiry, as in other affairs, one has not the right to believe a given proposition without the sufficient reason; but, having the reason, he has no right to disbelieve it. Touching the relation of Josephus to Jesus in his testimony, Edersheim gives expression to the following conjectural opinion: "Josephus always carefully suppresses, so far as possible, all that refers to the Christ—probably not only in accordance with his religious views, but because mention of a Christ might have been dangerous, certainly would have been inconvenient, in a work written by an intense self-seeker mainly for readers in Rome." *

S. L. Bowman.

Newark, N. J.

* *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, vol. i, p. 215.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS AND THE CHURCH.

It is not the province of the "Itinerants' Club" to comment in any critical way upon the actions of other denominations of Christians engaged in advancing the welfare of mankind. The controversy, however, now going on in the Presbyterian Church, and which has been going on for years and has reached a crisis, if not a final settlement, through the action of the late General Assembly, cannot fail to attract the attention of all ministers of the Gospel, and especially of young ministers. The action was the outcome of the discussion as to the relation to be observed between the General Assembly and the theological seminaries of the Church. It was decided that the students of no theological seminary out of harmony with the General Assembly should be received as ministers in the Presbyterian Church. It is no secret that this action was directed against one particular school; yet, in the absence of any direct statement on that point, it is rather the principle underlying the action which we shall here consider.

A discussion of the matter necessarily involves several elements. There is a distinction to be observed between the reception into the ministry of persons coming from other denominations, and the reception of those who have been trained in the denomination whose ministry they propose to enter. It is an accepted practice of all Churches to examine those who come from other denominations as to their faith and their harmony with the doctrines and discipline of the Church which they desire to enter, and, also, to demand an assurance of their good standing as ministers in the Church from which they come. The Church receiving them assumes no responsibility beyond the examination. The question, however, before the General Assembly was a different one. It was whether the Church itself should train the students who are to enter its ministry or should formally approve the teachings of those not in harmony with its doctrinal creed. When one is received under the control of a presbytery the latter assumes the management, or at least the responsibility, of the training through which he is to pass. It is hardly supposable that any denomination should allow its theological students to receive instruction inconsistent with beliefs of the Church. This seems to be the vital principle involved in the discussion, and is mentioned here, not for the purpose of approving or disapproving the action taken, but to call attention to what is essentially concerned in the relation of a Church to her theological seminaries. These are the creation of the Church, are supported by the Church, and exist for the maintenance and defense of the Church.

The point to be specially noted is the important position which theological seminaries hold in the estimation of the Church. Much of the controversy has gathered around two names—those of Professor Briggs, of the Union Theological Seminary, and Professor Smith, of the

Lane Theological Seminary, who have been held by a majority of the General Assembly to have taught doctrines not in harmony with the teachings of the Presbyterian Church. The action of the majority was based on the view that the instructors of the ministry shall be in harmony with the doctrinal standards. It is not the usage of the Presbyterian Church to require of its membership an adherence to its entire Confession of Faith; but it does require this of the candidates to its ministry, emphasizing the idea that, while liberties of belief are to be allowed to the laity, they cannot be permitted in those who are to guide and instruct the Church in sacred things. This is certainly a very interesting difference, which would be held by many to be inconsistent. Our own Church requires alike of ministry and membership that they shall avow adherence to the doctrines and discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church; and a layman, as well as a minister, may be excluded for violating the compact. No such compact is required of the laity in the Presbyterian Church, but only of candidates to the ministry.

The idea, however, that those who represent the Church as instructors of its ministry shall be in harmony with the doctrines of the Church is well grounded. The theological seminaries are created by the Church for the specific purpose of training young men who shall be teachers and promoters of those beliefs and usages on which the Church was founded and for whose advancement it exists. She has a right to expect that her agents shall truly represent her, or, if they do not so represent her, that they shall give place to those who will do so. Anything else would be subversive of Church order and might even become destructive of her existence. Suppose, for instance, that the Trinity be recognized, as it is, as an accepted doctrine of evangelical Christianity. One may call it a dogma if he will, a mere abstraction without bearing on practical life, an intellectual, and not a moral, conception, and may say that it is a matter of indifference whether he teach it or not. But suppose such a person to be a professor in a theological seminary. Could he consistently remain there while the dogma was recognized as an essential part of the creed of his Church? The questions would arise as to how far the variance from doctrine was a vital one, and whether such variance was a proper subject for Church action. With this question, as it relates to the Presbyterian Church, we have nothing really to do. Whether the teachings of Professor Briggs and of Professor Smith are in harmony with the Presbyterian Confession is a matter for that denomination, through its highest representative body, to decide. The point in which we are specially interested is the bearing of the recent decision of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church on theological seminaries in general. Their relation to the Church is so intrinsic and so important that all denominations appreciate the necessity of throwing around them such safeguards as shall promote or defend the interests of the denomination they represent, without hindering a free and full discussion of all those great and momentous topics which from time to time confront the Church concerning her doctrines and her polity.

SOME CONDITIONS OF EXTEMPORANEOUS DISCOURSE.

MANY books have been written on the art of extemporaneous speaking. It is universally conceded that the power of accurate and forcible extemporization is a very desirable one, and young speakers are earnestly urged to cultivate it. By speaking extempore is not meant speaking without previous thought, but without having previously clothed the thought in language. How far one can have precise thoughts without formulation in words is an open question, and one we do not raise here. For our present purpose it is sufficient to say that extemporaneous speaking means the employment of language which occurs to one while speaking, to convey thoughts which have been previously considered. It is distinguished from the memorized recitation of something previously written. *Memoriter* preaching cannot be considered as belonging to our subject. It is rather the reading of a discourse, with the notes concealed from view. The method of preparation for preaching without manuscript is, in a measure at least, different from that for discourse intended to be read. There are very few persons who can develop a thought closely on their feet. An ethical discourse in which fine discriminations are made is more difficult of development than a logical discussion in which the mind moves forward by the ordinary processes of argument.

The first requisite for extempore speaking is a mind trained to logical processes. Men differ greatly in this particular, some minds grasping matters in groups, or pictorially, rather than logically. One of the most important studies, therefore, especially for one who would follow consecutive trains of thought, is that of pure logic. This study shows how the human mind normally acts. Some one has divided our reasoning processes into two classes—formal and informal. We reason formally when we are conscious of our processes and give attention to them. We reason informally when we express conclusions without recognizing or giving attention to the order of logical procedure. All persons are constantly engaged in logical processes, whether they note them or not. The study of pure logic develops and trains the mind to move forward from step to step by natural laws; and thus each thought, as it arises, is the *nexus* or bond which is essential to extempore address.

Another element in this style of address is an orderly arrangement, or what is technically called the plan. Great extempore speakers are accustomed to prepare clear outlines of what they wish to say, and can scarcely get along without them. They are the signal lights which keep them from losing their way, and they direct their course from one to another with great care. If the faculty of development fails in one point it may appear in another, and the effect of even a moderate discussion of each point will not seriously impair the effect as a whole. The plan, independently of the fullness of the discussion, will convey its impression. It is remarkable how a series of well-arranged propositions or points, logically dependent on each other, will produce a profound impression by their mere statement, without any elaboration whatever. A well-arranged

and well-digested plan is, in the nature of the case, most favorable to free address.

The supreme qualification for this kind of address is a thorough familiarity with the subject under consideration. One needs to be so familiar with it that he can touch it at any point and understand all its bearings. One of the most effective speakers of this kind was in the habit of spending the entire week on the theme he proposed to discuss, omitting all consideration of the analysis of the subject or the language to be used. When the discussion of an extended passage of Scripture was before his mind he did not even give precise form to his topic until Saturday night or Sunday morning. Perhaps the passage to be considered was the ninth chapter of Acts. The topic of the chapter is the conversion of St. Paul. The week previous to the Sabbath was devoted to a critical study of the whole passage, with grammar, dictionary, and commentary. The topography of the country, the force of the words and their grammatical connection, the doctrinal and practical bearings of each part were considered until the whole subject was before the mind in all its breadth and fullness. When this has been done two or three lines of thought open before the preacher, one of which he may select. The preacher above referred to said that with the material thus collected he could preach three or four sermons, each distinct from the others. Having selected and studied his topic and constructed a general outline, he allowed his mind to do its thinking in the pulpit, in accordance with logical processes and without any previous preparation of the language to be employed. It is conceded that the ability to do this with success is a rare attainment, but it is one much to be desired.

DEVELOPMENT IN SERMONIC COMPOSITION.

The literary style of a sermon will be largely dependent upon its purpose; if the object be to reform some evil or advance some concrete interest the general style will differ from that of a discourse purely ethical and spiritual. A style clear, full, and adapted to the subject is difficult of acquisition, and yet very important to the successful preacher. The late Dean Stanley, of Westminster Abbey, London, is regarded as a master of English style. His mode of preaching was by written discourse, which was closely read. The interesting character of his subjects and his felicity of expression and illustration made his discourses exceedingly attractive to his hearers, and Westminster Abbey was crowded by those who came to listen to him.

A typical selection will illustrate. His sermon on "Science and Religion," in memory of Sir John Herschel, was founded upon Gen. i, 14, 15: "And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years: and let them be for lights in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth." He speaks of the "two characteristics of the biblical accounts of the sun and moon and stars that contain the first

stimulating thoughts of all the discoveries which have since been achieved. . . . The first of these characteristics is the profound sense which the biblical writers display of the sublimity and beauty of the divine order of heaven and earth." He thus develops his thought: "They knew not, they could not know, what it meant in all its parts. But it struck a poetic fire out of their inmost souls, that reproduced itself in thoughts and words of which the childlike simplicity is only equaled by their inborn and supreme nobility. Human language has performed many marvelous feats since the first chapter in Genesis was written; but the saying of the heathen Longinus sixteen hundred years ago is still true, that nothing more sublime has ever been spoken than the words, 'And God said, Let there be light: and there was light.' The hues of the rising and the setting sun have been depicted by many a poet and many a painter, have been analyzed by many a scientific process, by many an optic tube, since the shepherd-king watched the rays of the early morning dart over the level lines of the hills of Moab; yet no more lifelike description has ever been given in few words than that of the sudden emergence of the sun's bright face—like that of a joyous bridegroom on his wedding day—from the curtains of his secret chamber; of the startling bound with which he leaps over the dark ridge of the eastern mountains, like a giant rejoicing to run his course. The Grecian poets have sung of the repose of immortals and the toils of mortals, have handled with delicate touch the lights and shades of sea and sky; but we might search in vain for any expression of intense and abounding joyousness in the beauty of creation for its own sake equal to that which the Book of Job describes when it tells us that, at the laying of the foundation stone of the world, 'the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy.' The Mosaic cosmogonist, the psalmist of Bethlehem, the Idumean patriarch, could supply no theory of the universe; but they felt assured that in those glorious orbs there was an indication of divine power and wisdom beyond what they saw more closely around them. They were prepared, and they prepared others, to hear more; they put themselves and the world into an admiring, reverential, listening attitude."

In analyzing this development it will be noticed how clearly he unfolds his proposition—the "sublimity and beauty of the divine order of heaven and earth," as displayed by the biblical writers. One can scarcely imagine a more delicate and harmonious unfolding. The imagery is closely related to the thought, and the thought illumines the topic. The subject and treatment are poetical, and there is nothing to mar the impression which the writer desires to make. It would be interesting to note the method of this writer in the development of a purely spiritual topic. But the object of this paper will be secured if any young minister shall be induced to study sermon writers like Dean Stanley, with a view to the attainment of effective methods of development. Careful analysis is of great importance; but many who can analyze a subject readily find difficulty in developing the points in harmony alike with the thought and the sentiment.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

A FRAGMENT OF THE GREEK PSALTER.

PEOPLE have ceased to be surprised at the discovery of anything in Egypt; for no sooner is one object from remote ages and of priceless value brought to light than another is found of still greater antiquity and interest. From an article in the *Athenæum* we learn that among the papyri recently placed in the British Museum was a leaf of the Psalter in Greek, which had been found in the Fayoum. After a careful examination of the style of writing and a thorough comparison of papyri, it has been inferred by competent paleographers that the fragment must have been executed about 300 A. D. If this be true, and there is no reason for doubting it, this stray leaf, discovered in the valley of the Nile, is the oldest specimen extant of the Septuagint—older by two or three hundred years than the fragment, likewise of a Psalter, examined by Tischendorf nearly fifty years ago, and even more ancient than those venerable portions of Zechariah and Malachi in the Greek tongue which, for a long time, were regarded as the oldest fragments of the Greek Bible extant. This same writer in the *Athenæum* informs us that a part of this latter document was exhibited at the Congress of Orientalists in London, in September, 1892, was reproduced at that time in facsimile in the *Times*, and was described in that paper as follows: "The extreme antiquity of the manuscript is attested by the uncial character in which it is written, which would place it well before 300 A. D." The writer then comments in the following words: "This statement, however, is at once contradicted by the facsimile which accompanies it; for he would be a bold paleographer who would place the manuscript, on the evidence of the writing, earlier than the seventh century."

This stray leaf is about ten inches square, and is divided into two columns, with twenty-seven lines to the column. It contains Psalms xi, 7, to xiv, 4. The chirography is unusually fine and distinct, showing clearly that these uncial characters were executed by no mean penman; yet the fragment abounds in glaring mistakes, which proves that the scribe was either very illiterate or utterly ignorant of the language which he copied. It is probably the work of a foreign slave, whose duty it was to copy manuscripts.

From "a series of dots" found here and there in the text, evidently to divide the words into syllables, it has been inferred that this fragment of the Psalter was used as a text-book for giving instruction to children or to those learning to read. This view is supported by the fact that on the back of the papyrus several Greek words are divided into syllables, as in our modern spelling books—for example, *ο-λι-γω* and *απο-λαυ-εν*. This fact is very important, as it shows that the Bible was a text-book in Christian schools at a very early date in the history of the Church. Incidentally, it

also suggests the observation that this method of dividing words in order to facilitate the learning of the Greek language was not confined to the Bible, since portions of Homer have also been found where the words were similarly divided into syllables.

HEBREW ART DURING THE EXODUS.

In former issues of the *Review* it has been shown in this department, beyond a reasonable doubt, that Moses must have been well acquainted with the art of writing, both on papyrus and other materials. It has, also, been demonstrated that Egypt, Babylonia, and several other lands possessed no mean degree of civilization, and that these ancient empires had developed the mechanical arts, in various ways, to amazing perfection ages before Abraham and centuries before the great Hebrew legislator.

We shall, in this paper, examine into the state of culture among the Hebrews during their forty years' sojourn in the wilderness, along the lines of the useful trades involving mechanical or artisan skill. No one can read the first six books of the Old Testament without being impressed that we have to do, not only with a people quite advanced in their religious and political ideas, but, also, with a nation possessing many skilled workmen in the various arts. But there are those, even among evangelical Christians, who do not accept the antiquity of the Hexateuch and who, with the destructive critics, take it for granted that these books were not written till nearly a thousand years after the events described had taken place. Consequently, they hold, the description of the ark, the mercy seat, and the tabernacle, with its utensils and furniture, shows evident traces of later civilization, just as the lofty sentiments of the so-called Mosaic law bear evidence of a comparatively recent origin. In other words, workmanship not possible to the Hebrews till centuries afterward is attributed to them while in the wilderness.

In turning to the twenty-fifth and following chapters of the Book of Exodus we find that the Hebrews were acquainted with spinning, weaving, and embroidering, as well as with dyeing and coloring the materials prepared from wool and flax; for among the offerings brought by them for the tabernacle were stuffs dyed in blue, purple, and scarlet, also fine linen and goat's hair cloth. The knowledge of tanning is also presupposed, since among the articles contributed were rams' skins dyed red and seal skins (Authorized Version, "badgers' skins," but now commonly regarded as a general term for the skins of any large fish). The several processes in metallurgy, such as separating, smelting, and refining, were likewise known. The work of the metallurgists would be naturally followed by that of the skilled worker in bronze, silver, and gold. The Hebrew goldsmith, according to the record, must have possessed wonderful ability. Indeed, we read that Bezaleel was filled with the Spirit of God to devise cunning works, to work in gold, silver, and brass, in cutting stones for setting, and in the carving of wood (Exod. xxxv, 31–35). In the direction for the construction of the ark and other sacred objects we read:

"Thou shalt overlay it with pure gold;" "and thou shalt make a mercy seat of pure gold;" "and thou shalt make two cherubim of gold, of beaten work shalt thou make them, in the two ends of the mercy seat." The construction of these cherubim implies wonderful skill and exquisite taste. Then follows the enumeration of various utensils, such as spoons and bowls for the table of the showbread, and the golden candlestick, with its shaft, almond-blossom-shaped cups, knops, and flowers of one piece. The lapidary, also, must have filled an important place, since there were "stones to be set in the ephod, and in the breastplate." No one can read the description of the "breastplate of judgment" (Exod. xxviii, 15–30) without being convinced, either that we are reading fiction pure and simple, or that the Hebrew artisan was endowed with astonishing skill. Yet recent discoveries prove that the account given in Exodus need not be considered as a fiction or exaggeration; but as a true, literal account—as genuine history, and not invented legend. But the skill of these various artisans was not confined to the construction of sacred articles for the sanctuary, since we know that they were also engaged in the preparation of jewelry and ornaments for common use. When the golden calf was made the people contributed freely of their personal adornments; and about the same time, when offerings were solicited for "the work of the tabernacle of the congregation, and for all his service," both men and women brought, in large quantities, brooches, earrings, signet rings, bracelets, necklaces, and "all jewels of gold."

So advanced have these several branches of industry appeared that, as already stated, many have not hesitated in consigning the account to the realm of the unhistorical. Let us, therefore, look at them in the light of history, as read, not simply upon the monuments, but in articles recently discovered. In the first place, it must be remembered that Semitic civilization was of an advanced type many centuries before the exodus. The discoveries made in Chaldea, the home of the great ancestor of the Hebrews, prove this beyond controversy. According to that eminent scholar and brilliant historian and archæologist, Canon Rawlinson, the Babylonians of Abraham's time were acquainted with metallurgy in its various branches, and were especially successful in the preparation of bronze, which was made by a mixture of copper and tin. They also possessed equal skill in the production of textile fabrics. The thousands of tablets lately discovered, relating to contracts of various kinds—to the transfer of real estate and personal property, to banking, and other business—prove that they were men of affairs at a very early date. It has been logically inferred that the chieftain Terah, on emigrating from Ur of the Chaldees, must have had in his train skillful workmen who were able to make almost every article needed by his tribe. The purchase of Machpelah by Abraham from the Hittites and the legal conveyance of the same prove that the parties were not roving savages. The incidental mention of signets, earrings, and bracelets in Gen. xxiv, 22, and xxxviii, 18, is also of value, as showing the civilized character of the descendants of Abraham.

It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader of the larger civilization in the Nile valley, even during the early dynasties. The articles last year brought to light at Dashur, by M. de Morgan, though belonging to the twelfth dynasty—between 2500 and 2300 B. C.—are exquisite in their workmanship. Maspero, referring to them, says: "The ornaments comprise a wealth of gold gorgets, necklaces of agate beads or of enameled lotus flowers, cornelian, amethyst, and onyx scarabs. Pectorals of pierced goldwork inlaid with flakes of vitreous paste or precious stones bear the cartouch of Usirtasen III and of Amenemhait II; and every one of these gems of art betrays a perfection of taste and skillfulness of handling which are perfectly wonderful. Their delicacy and their freshness, in spite of their antiquity, make it hard for us to realize that fifty centuries have elapsed since they were made." This, from an eyewitness and, perhaps, the best living judge of Egyptian antiquities, is of great weight. Professor Erman in his *Life in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 461, *ff.*, uses equally strong language in describing the jewels of Queen Ahhôtep. The skill of these ancient workers, who created "marvels of gold, ivory, porcelain, and wood," is now so generally admitted by all authorities as to need no further mention.

The fine linen made in Egypt is still admired. It was remarkable for its finish, softness, and delicacy, some of it being as finely woven as our best silks. This fineness of the cloth is a matter of surprise. Wilkinson describes a piece which had no less than five hundred and forty threads in the warp and one hundred and ten in the woof to each inch. We know from very reliable sources that under the old empire, between 2830 and 2530 B. C., weaving was done to a very large extent by slaves, and not by the better classes. In later times most of the weaving was accomplished by women of the lower classes. This being the case, there is every reason for believing that the Hebrew women might have been condemned to such work by their captors.

Indeed, we further know that artisan work of all kinds was looked down upon by the great and powerful of Egypt. Erman quotes a poet of the middle empire, who declares himself on the subject of manual labor thus: "I have never seen the smith as an ambassador or the goldsmith carry tidings. Yet I have seen the smith at his work at the mouth of his furnace; his fingers were like crocodile [hide], he stank more than the roe of fish." The position of the craftsmen being thus regarded, it will not be difficult to conceive that very many of the Hebrews under the oppression were found among the despised classes engaged in the various handicrafts. But, granting that the Hebrews had no knowledge whatever of the various trades, such as cabinet-making, tanning, weaving, and metal working, when they entered Egypt, which, indeed, is almost inconceivable, there is no reason whatever for thinking that every Hebrew devoted himself exclusively to herding cattle or to agriculture. It is more than probable that, though the greater part of them were devoted to pastoral work, yet not a few of their number were engaged in the several trades and arts known to the Egyptians.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

THE DESCENDANTS OF HAWAIIAN MISSIONARIES.

After the extinction of the house of the Kamehamehas, in the Hawaiian Islands, the citizens there were confronted by new circumstances—the unchecked flooding of the land with intoxicating liquors; the revival of the old heathen practices of sorcery, even to the extent of interfering with the board of health and its hygienic regulations; the influx of Chinese and Japanese; and other similar social and political conditions confusing and dangerous to the body politic.

All this naturally led to complications and contention. Among the persons active in seeking to control the situation in the interests of purity and good government were some citizens who were sons of early American missionaries to the islands. In the criminations and recriminations incident to the strife engendered by the situation, those citizens who were missionaries or sons of missionaries came in for their share, and charges against them of present worldliness were freely bandied about. It was alleged, for instance, that they owned four fifths of the property of the islands. It now turns out that the largest property holders of the Hawaiian Islands are not missionaries or sons of missionaries; and, in fact, there is not even a plantation owned by the son of a missionary. Several plantations are, however, managed by corporations whose stock is from time to time on the market and is available in small sums. In these corporate stocks some teachers and sons of missionaries, it is true, have invested small savings; but no one of them is even so much as a manager on any plantation, while some do work on them.

So far from any serious charge of secularization being established against the descendants of these missionaries as a class, it is now shown that not less than seventy children of such missionaries have entered missionary service in other lands, and about as many more have engaged in such service in the Hawaiian Islands themselves, carrying on the work established by their fathers and mothers. Of those who have wholly engaged in secular pursuits not more than ten have accumulated anything that could be accounted even a moderate fortune, though many of them are creditable lawyers, judges, physicians, teachers, and clerks. In a list of one hundred and one cabinet officers of the government there appear eight names of the descendants of missionaries, while not more than ten descendants of missionaries are found in other offices under the government. These descendants of missionaries are active in social and benevolent works, some of them being engaged in caring for the moral and religious training of the fifteen thousand Japanese and the thousands of Chinese whose immigration to the islands has added a disturbing element to the population. More than one half of the $15,000 raised for the Young Men's Christian Association building in Honolulu is said to have

been contributed by sons of missionaries. One missionary, himself a missionary's son, is serving without salary as the pastor of a church. More than one of the missionaries, out of his savings and investments, has given back to the American Board treasury more than the total amount received from it. There is, also, a constant demand for money to conduct mission schools and industrial establishments wherein to train native Christians to be thrifty citizens; and to these objects the descendants of missionaries are continually giving both time and money.

SELF-SUPPORT IN FOREIGN MISSIONS.

THE term "self-support" has been restricted by some missionary societies to the support of pastors by native churches. It is, however, confusing to thus limit the word, rather than to apply it to the total giving of native Christians toward the support of the Gospel and religious institutions among themselves; for this benevolence is what indicates their Christian development and their independence of foreign resources. Natives of the several countries in which missions have been established are not unaccustomed to make contributions for the support of their own religions before they become Christians; and there is no reason why they should not give of their ability after adopting Christianity in, at least, the same ratio, other things being equal. It has been estimated that the Chinese give from one fifth to two fifths of their income to the single object of ancestor worship. Mr. S. Wells Williams has estimated the total contributions of the Chinese for the support of idolatrous customs at one hundred and twenty million dollars annually, one half of which, he believes, goes to ancestral worship. Hindoos, also, contribute a vast sum in the aggregate to religious objects; and, though the individual gifts are in infinitesimal amounts, they constitute a fair percentage of the income of the donors. It is sometimes the case that the profession of Christianity results in the destruction of the means of livelihood. Among such instances are the cases where the income has been derived from idolatrous customs, temple revenues, or service; and in the complex religious usages of heathen countries these sources of income ramify much farther than appears at first thought.

It is a pleasure to record the fact that native churches generally contribute liberally and often self-sacrificingly, though the aggregate may not seem great to persons accustomed to the larger incomes of Christian communities in Western lands. The native churches of India, between 1851 and 1861, thus gave 93,431 rupees, while in 1871 alone they gave 85,121 rupees, or nearly as much as in the former decade. The native Christians connected with the Methodist churches in heathen lands probably give an annual aggregate of more than $100,000. The Wesleyan missions in the Fiji Islands meet their own expenses, including salaries of foreign missionaries, and hand over a large surplus to the Australian Conference for mission work in other parts. Native Christians in the New Hebrides make it a rule to give one tenth of their time to the spread-

ing of the Gospel, and two dollars apiece to the missionary collection. They once contributed 3,700 pounds of arrowroot to print an edition of the Old Testament, and $6,000 to translate the Gospel into one of the native languages. The converts of Annatum volunteered to give the price of the season's crop of cocoanuts for the roofing of two churches with corrugated iron. The chief dependence for obtaining foreign clothing and other goods is copra; and they also agreed to give all their copra for six months, thus dispensing with the comforts, if not with the necessities, of life. In fulfillment of this agreement they gave twenty-six tons of copra, valued at $574. While so giving one of their churches was destroyed by a hurricane; and, in addition to what they had already done, they also gave their arrowroot crop to repair the damage. The Bassein College, in Burmah, is of indigenous growth. The native Christians passed a law that every disciple should give a basket of paddy and twelve cents in money. Having thus contributed the whole cost of the land and buildings, they pay the wages of the teachers and the board of the pupils. Less than five per cent of the total expenditure came from outside. In 1849 they undertook the support of their pastors; in 1850 they added all the native evangelists; in 1880, while heavily taxed and yet in deep poverty, they began building their own churches. The native Christians of the Reformed (Dutch) mission at Amoy, China, in 1882 gave $1,877. There were then 750 church members. In 1883, 758 members gave $1,958; in 1884, 742 members gave $1,631; in 1885, 783 members gave $2,107; in 1891, 968 members gave $3,382.

THE FINLAND AND ST. PETERSBURG MISSION.

This mission was organized in 1892. Our work in Finland, however, was actually begun in 1879. In 1881 Finland appears as a regular circuit of the Sweden Conference, and the Finland District of that Conference was organized four years later. At first the work was largely confined to the Swedes resident in the country, of whom there are nearly 350,000, out of a total population of about 2,500,000; but more work is constantly being done among the Finns themselves. Indeed, most of the Swedish missionaries are unfamiliar with the Finnish language and are compelled to use interpreters when preaching to others than their own people; and only as native preachers have been trained and employed has much success among the Finns been attained. Even so recently as in 1891 there was but one preacher who could preach in the Finnish language. Work in St. Petersburg was begun in 1889, principally among the Swedes and Finns there resident. It is through this mission, if at all, that Methodism must reach Russia. In Finland our preachers at first suffered much opposition from the local authorities, and were bitterly denounced by the ministers of the State (Lutheran) Church; yet some of these ministers now openly encourage our work and frequently attend our services, and our Church has been finally recognized by the Finnish government and has a legal right to hold property. Methodists, however, must withdraw

from the State Church, which many hesitate to do, this being considered a great sin among the common people; and no children but those whose parents are Methodists are permitted to attend Methodist Sunday schools. The people suffer from the prevailing drunkenness and immorality and from the religious formality and indifference which curse the country. And yet the Finlanders, though difficult to stir, or to bring to a definite conclusion, and reticent in revealing their deepest feelings and experiences, are thoroughly earnest when once aroused and remain firm in their new convictions. There are five ordained and ten unordained missionaries, a dozen stations and circuits, 587 full members, 160 probationers, and 790 Sunday school scholars. If the work can once be thoroughly intrenched in the large cities and towns the country districts can easily be evangelized therefrom. But one great need, which must be supplied before Methodism can command a proper respect from the people, is the erection of a suitable church in Helsingfors, the Finnish capital, a city of sixty-five thousand persons. From the newly started Book Concern in that city there have recently been published in Finnish the Discipline and a hymnal containing nearly four hundred hymns. Two monthly papers are issued—*Nya Budbararen* ("The New Messenger") in Swedish, and *Rauhan Sanoma* ("The Messenger of Peace") in Finnish, each with a circulation of about twelve thousand copies.

INDUSTRIAL MISSIONS.

Missionaries have sought, by various means, to secure their converts against possible loss of income caused by their abandonment of the faith of their fathers. It is desirable, also, to aid them in developing a Christian civilization. In Liberia the Lutheran Mission has made a venture in coffee farming, which has resulted in a remarkable development of the native converts. Bishop Taylor has aimed at the same results by establishing mission farms in South Central Africa. Mr. H. W. Fry, of London, a Christian business man who has visited many mission stations in India, recently submitted a proposal to the Calcutta Missionary Conference, which at their request he has formulated in a circular. Mr. Fry thinks that many missionaries would be able to commence industrial missionary enterprises if they had funds for the initial outfit, and that many Christians who cannot donate largely to the work would gladly invest small sums in such business ventures if these could be carefully investigated by a company of business men. It is proposed, therefore, that a syndicate of Christian business men be organized in London, to receive proposals from missionaries for self-sustaining industrial missions to be conducted by native Christians. Applicants will be required to specify the object of the work proposed; to describe its location and facilities for communication; to state the amount of capital required; to estimate the working expenses and probable profits; to name the security, if any, to be furnished; to mention the difficulties to be overcome; and to give other detailed information called for in the catalogue of questions.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

H. Hackmann. Although the Germans are very exact and very thorough in their researches, yet the leaders of thought among them are not always the most reliable of their scholars. Novelty attracts attention even among them; and if to novelty an author can add plausibility and force of style he is sure of a following more or less extensive and slavish. It may be said that nothing is inherently improbable to a German thinker. Hence, the most absurd hypotheses, if backed up by a considerable erudition, receive respectful consideration and are sure to modify, if not to mold, opinion. These remarks are illustrated in the case of Hackmann. It is his opinion that Isaiah was a prophet of evil, and about all the passages which offer hope to Israel are excluded by him as not of Isaianic origin; while everything which contains threatenings is pronounced by him to be Isaianic. This turns the evangelical prophet into another Jeremiah. Of those portions which he allows to Isaiah and which are supposed to be prophetic of evil he makes the most possible. For example, chap. xxix, 1–6, is made to mean that Jerusalem shall be besieged and frightfully humbled, and that Jehovah will visit upon Jerusalem frightful storms and raze it to the earth. Verse 7 is made to mean precisely the opposite of what it seems to mean, namely, that the Lord will come against Jerusalem with dread, such as is experienced in a terrible dream. In order to carry out his hypothesis that Isaiah prophesied evil and not hope, he deals in the most remarkable way with questions of genuineness. For example, chap. xxxii, 9–14, which seems to threaten actual destruction to the city itself, is regarded by many critics as spurious. Hackmann himself is not able to come to a certain conclusion regarding the passage, but holds it safer to accept it as genuine. Yet he treats it, except in the note in which he gives expression to his uncertainty, as though its genuineness were unquestioned. In fact, he employs violence and art all the way through to explain away passages which conflict with his theory and to make the most of those which seem to favor his views. Nevertheless, he is welcomed into the ranks of the Old Testament scholars of Germany as though he were perfectly fair and just in his treatment of the questions under consideration.

F. Traub. He has received high recognition from learned societies in Europe, as well as from individual scholars, especially as to his views concerning the moral order of the world. He is a Kantian in his theory of knowledge, but with a sufficient independence of thought to preserve his individuality. According to him, it is not the world *per se* or the world as a whole, but the world of phenomena, which is capable of apprehension by theoretical thought. Practical thought, proceeding from the moral law,

alone leads us above the world and phenomena. The moral law does not exist as the result of deduction. Its exposition is, at the same time, its justification. The moral law involves the idea of its universality, the autonomy of man, his personality as a final cause, and humanity as an end. The question whether the real world is such as to aid in the realization of the object for which the race exists is the question concerning a moral order of the world. If there is such an order it must reckon with the opposing powers of natural necessity and evil, and includes within itself the recognition of an almighty and holy God, and with him the idea of immortality, retribution, and forgiveness. Is there, now, such a moral world-order? Only the religious faith can recognize it. The moral law, even with the added idea of God, is not sufficient to determine the existence of such an order. But even the religious faith is truth only for such as are sensible of that need which the Christian faith alone can supply. But that need is the need of a human being who is seized by the moral law with a desire to know for a certainty the reality of the moral end of his being. Whence, then, can such a one secure this certainty? First, in the unconditional moral law, and, secondly, in the revelation in Christ. This is no theoretical, but rather a practical, certainty. He denies, however, that there is any contradiction between the theoretical and the practical, in such a sense as to carry with it a twofold order of the world. Rather, the conviction that the natural order is only the means of the accomplishment of moral ends tends to unite and harmonize the varying views of the world. Rich, profound, and suggestive as all this is, we cannot believe that the distinction between theoretical and practical thinking should be carried so far as to make them mutually exclusive throughout.

Adolf Kinzler. An instructor in a missionary institute holds a position as leader of thought in an eminent sense. Such is the position of Kinzler in the mission house of Basel. In the midst of the excitement which biblical criticism is producing in this country, it may be well to see what a trusted representative of evangelical mission work in Switzerland thinks. He denies that to investigate the traditional views of authorship and date of a biblical book is to criticise God's word. He holds that, since the Book of Daniel, in its present form, nowhere asserts its author to be Daniel, it is not improper to question whether Daniel is really its author. So, because Hebrews says nothing relative to its own authorship, those who attribute it to Paul must explain why it is that in Hebrews we find a different literary style and a different phase of Christian thought from that which prevails in the unquestionably Pauline letters. In the same way, the Bible nowhere asserts that all that is contained in the five books of Moses was written by Moses. Hence, the one who investigates these human opinions concerning the origin of the Bible merely uses his freedom as a Christian man. So, also, is it an evidence of true Christian honesty to admit the existence of contradictions and errors, instead of trying to explain them away by a false apologetic. All these things should be regarded as part of the data from which to judge

of the real origin of the books of the Bible. True faith in the revelation of God is not to be destroyed by such things; and one may not go to the Bible with a ready-made conception of mechanical inspiration, but rather must we gather the true idea of inspiration from the contents of the Bible itself. The Bible is a divine-human book; and it is as true of the book as of the incarnate word, "Blessed is he, whosoever shall not be offended in me." Probably there are few who would dispute Kinzler's statements and arguments, once his premises are admitted. The difficulty with most will be to believe that the books of the Bible do not attribute their origin to the men to whom we are accustomed to attribute them, and that the prevalent belief concerning their origin is the product of human investigation, rather than biblical statement.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Mittelgriechische Sprichwörter (Middle Greek Proverbs). By Karl Krumbacher. The book holds that the middle Greek proverb is distinguished from the old Greek chiefly and in general by the fact that, while the latter is more scholarly, the former is more popular in tone. As might be expected, the later proverb finds its material in the culture of the Middle Ages from which it springs. Hence, there is very little in common between the proverbs of the old and the middle Greek. On the other hand, these later proverbs are related more to those of the new Greek and form the basis upon which they are constructed. Nor are they much like the proverbs of the Romanic peoples. They take the anecdotal form, according to the pattern of the Orient. On the contrary, the occidental peoples prefer to put their proverbs in the form of sentences. The book furnishes much new material from hitherto unknown manuscripts. But that which is of special interest to the theologian is the fact that the oldest collections of middle Greek proverbs, reaching back probably to the twelfth century, had their origin in the purpose to allegorize the proverb, in the interest of theological and religious improvement. The author thinks that the effort is the same as that which produced the remarkable "physiologos" literature, whose purpose was to apply everything pertaining to the whole wide realm of nature and spirit to the uses of the religio-ethical life of mankind. The Byzantine theologians insisted that man partook of everything existent—of stones (through the bones), plants, etc., up to God, whose image man bears. Man passes, in the course of his development from the embryo to his old age, through every kingdom of the material world. The author then gives a concatenation of proverbs, with their theological significance and elaborate explanations of some of the more peculiar proverbs, by which their linguistic and other difficulties are removed, and closes with much valuable information relative to the presence of proverbs in Byzantine literature. This book will have little attraction for many. But to those whose insight is sufficiently deep to know that more can be learned of the actual state of culture by the proverbs of an age than by the most detailed records of its political and military movements the book will prove a treasure.

Beiträge zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens (Contributions to the History of the Order of Jesuits). By Professor Dr. F. H. Reusch. Written by a member of the Roman Catholic faculty of theology in the University of Bonn, this book is not intended as a contribution to the Jesuit controversy now raging in Germany, but a purely objective delineation of well-authenticated facts in the history of the order of Jesuits. The first four chapters treat of "The Doctrine of the Murder of Tyrants;" "French Jesuits as Gallicans;" "The Meeting at Bourgfonthine a Fable of the Jesuits;" "The Pretended Arnold, an Illustration of the Doctrine that the End Justifies the Means." A fifth chapter treats of a variety of subjects, such as the miracles of the Jesuit saints Ignatius, Aloysius, and Canisius, indulgences, privileged altars, etc. One of the excellences of the book is that it gives those facts most prominence which the Jesuits are most anxious to cover over. And even the most bitter Protestant opponent of the Jesuits will here find feathers for his arrows and strings for his bow. The book shows, not only how the Jesuits regard the lives of those who seriously interfere with the schemes of Romanism, and how they have "one conscience for Paris, and another for Rome," but how they will take up and employ the most outrageous inventions of falsehood in the interest of their plans, well knowing that they are false. Well does Reusch characterize these things as diabolical wickedness. Particularly does the book show how the Jesuits left no lie unused which they could employ against the Jansenists, that thereby they might destroy their influence. Hypocrisy and double dealing are among their principal weapons; and Reusch complains that even Romanists who do not justify such principles are scarcely regarded as worthy of membership in the Roman Church. Well might Leibnitz wonder that so many apparently decent people could tolerate such plainly dishonorable conduct. The time is coming when those who, in our own country, believe in the sincerity of the papal and hierarchical expressions of loyalty will be undeceived. A Church which has so consistently maintained its reputation for nonadherence to the truth when its interests were in jeopardy cannot be trusted, but must be watched with jealous eye. Let the theologians look at history, rather than present-day professions.

Die Diataxis des Michael Attaleiates von 1077 (The Diataxis of Michael of Attalia of 1077). By Dr. W. Nissen. In the study of monastic life the Byzantine developments, which were in many respects quite different from those in the West, are often overlooked. Here is a book which undertakes to investigate the Byzantine monasteries by reference to the arrangements introduced by Michael of Attalia in 1077. Historically, the rule of St. Basil is regarded as the foundation upon which all later types of monasteries are erected. Ecclesiastical and civil legislation within the Roman empire produced certain distinct modifications which amounted to a variation in kind. Justinian I was the first to enforce the civil authority over the monastic life. But all this was brought about through the influence of two celebrated cloisters, the Laura of St. Sabas

and the Studium, both of which were epoch-making in the history of monasticism, but whose tendencies soon appeared to be practically identical, especially affecting the devotional life and the laws governing the internal communion among the monks. No important change took place in the monastic arrangements until the fourteenth or fifteenth century. Variations from the general type, whether relative to the religious services or the inner or outer life of the monks, are to be explained as personal or local expressions and applications of the general traditions. Founders and occupants of monasteries, as well as patriarchs and emperors, only applied in special cases the generally existing rules of governing monasteries. The book is rendered valuable to the student by the list which it furnishes of the different monastic institutions. This is followed by an excellent sketch of the life of the hero, Michael, who flourished in the latter half of the eleventh century, and who founded his monastery to serve a large poorhouse, which itself in consequence took on a monastic character. The investigation of a considerable number of special subjects connected with monasticism follows. We can but wish that the training in our theological seminaries may lead to the development of a generation of scholars able to conduct such investigations for themselves.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

The Condition of the Laboring Classes in Japan. The following is derived from a trustworthy source. The usual time for beginning a day's labor is 6 A. M., although the laborers are willing to begin as early as 4 A. M. Wages are astonishingly low. Even in industrial centers weavers and spinners earn only fifteen cents per day, while the wages of women are but six cents. The most flourishing industry is, without doubt, the manufacture of cotton goods. In a single establishment in Kanegasaki there are employed 2,100 male and 3,700 female laborers. These are divided into day and night detachments, with twelve hours of labor each, which period is interrupted for only about forty minutes for a meal, which can be purchased in the vicinity for about one and one half cents. All these establishments are fitted out with the best European machinery and are kept constantly busy, to the great profit of the proprietors. Many have branches, in order to more nearly meet the demand for their goods, which is greater than the supply. The employers have already learned the relative cheapness of female labor, as is shown by the fact that thirty-five of the principal establishments employ 16,879 female, and only 5,370 male, laborers. The employers have formed a powerful syndicate and often abuse the leniency of the authorities, who do not wish to do anything to cripple the developing industries. Little girls of eight or nine years of age are often kept at work from nine to twelve hours per day. The law provides that these children shall be in school, and the teachers make complaint of their absence; but the officials shut their eyes to the facts. The laborers are obedient and willing, and the manufacturers, instead of treating them with corresponding gratitude, practically reduce them to slavery. It is

a sorrowful fact that Western civilization carries with it so many evils. But as Christianity reaches these lower classes they will learn, as in every other country, to respect themselves, and their struggle for improved conditions will prove effectual.

Persecution of Protestants in the Canton of Ticino, Switzerland. The Italian and Roman Catholic inhabitants, being largely in the majority, have been demonstrating anew the intolerance which is an essential element in the Church of Rome. The Protestants have been obliged to endure the most wicked violence at the hands of their Romanist fellow-citizens, and that with the connivance of the police. But of late there seems to be improvement in this particular. The *Christlicher Volksbote* says that in Castione the evangelical pastor was recently allowed, without molestation, to hold a public service with some twenty participants. They were even permitted to sing a couple of hymns at the opening and closing of the service—a thing heretofore not ventured. It is supposed that the ultramontanists were restrained by the presence of several friends from other cantons, and by a couple of policemen who acted as a guard and who listened with growing interest from the beginning to the end of the service. Rome never changes. She will tolerate only where she fears the civil law.

Berlin City Mission. It is with the greatest difficulty that the work of bringing back the masses who are alienated from the Church is carried on. There is no difficulty in securing a crowd if the meeting is well advertised. But it is discovered that many of the attendants are social Democrats, who are attracted by curiosity, or, as it appears, sometimes by the wish to scandalize the proceedings. Half-grown boys are so large an element of disturbance that they can be quieted only by violence or by the aid of the police. Many of the attendants do all in their power to bring the services into disrepute, and the city missionary is often in a more trying position than the missionary to the heathen. It would be unjust to the social Democrats, however, to imply that they alone are at the bottom of all the disturbances. Against all obstacles the zealous workers patiently and persistently contend, using as a special means of controlling the crowds the power of Gospel song.

The New Norwegian Liquor Law. The whole world is being gradually awakened to the evil of the saloon. Norway is now so far in line that it has adopted practically the Gothenburg system, although with some of the prohibition features of our now famous Georgia law. The law provides that the population twenty-five years of age and over, without regard to sex, may vote to exclude the liquor traffic altogether, so far as distilled or vinous liquors are concerned. The saloons are not permitted to open before 8 A. M., and on Saturday must close at 1 P. M. and remain closed until 8 A. M. Monday. They must also remain closed on all the numerous holidays, and the local authorities have the right to order them closed on several other specified occasions.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

THE high rank of our republic among the great nationalities of the world is often a matter of sentimental assertion. The cold argument of facts is, however, more to the purpose, and this characteristic lends force to the article of Mr. Mulhall in the *North American* for June, on the "Power and Wealth of the United States." To the casual reader the opening assertion of the paper seems extravagant that "a survey of mankind in ancient or modern times, as regards the physical, mechanical, and intellectual forces of nations," shows nothing to be compared with the United States in 1895. Yet, if figures ever prove anything, the author's positions are fully established by the great mass of statistics he has gathered. The "working power" of the United States in foot-tons daily per inhabitant he shows to be 1,940 in 1895, while that of Great Britain is 1,470, of France 910, and of Germany 902. The product of grain "per hand" in 1890 was also 475 bushels in the United States, as against 228 in the United Kingdom, 188 in France, and 118 in Germany. As to the "intellectual power" of the republic, it was shown by the census of 1890 that eighty-seven per cent of our population over ten years old could read and write. The annual school expenditure in the United States was then $156,000,000, as against $48,000,000 in Great Britain, $31,000,000 in France, and $26,000,000 in Germany. This was at the rate of $2.40 per inhabitant in the United States, $1.30 in Great Britain, 80 cents in France, and 50 cents in Germany. As to increase in wealth, the author, having laid down the initial statement that the riches of the American people "surpass that of any other nation, past or present," proceeds to fortify this position also with statistics. The census of 1880 showed the number of "dollars per inhabitant" in the United States to be 870; in 1890 the figures had risen to 1,039. And, while this ratio per head is surpassed in Great Britain, France, and Holland, it must be borne in mind that "ninety-four per cent of American wealth has been created and accumulated since 1840." The many tables regarding urban and rural wealth, in this connection, are a surprise in their showing, and confirm the truthfulness of the statement that "the accumulation of wealth averages $7,000,000 daily." There seems no flaw in the author's reasoning. The fact that it is written by so high an authority, and he a foreign student of economics, should mean much to those who sneer at the resources and possibilities of the United States. "These simple facts," says Mr. Mulhall, "tell us what a wonderful country has sprung up beyond the Atlantic in a single century, and furnish a scathing commentary on the books written by English travelers only fifty years ago."

THE *Edinburgh Review* for April contains notices of recent publications on the following subjects: 1. "The Progress of Canada;" 2. "The

Classical Studies of Dante;" 3. "Life and Letters of Mrs. Craven;" 4. "Somersetshire;" 5. "'Alter Fritz;'" 6. "The Sutherland Book;" 7. "Memoirs of General Thiébault;" 8. "St. Sophia and Byzantine Building;" 9. "Mr. Stopford Brooke on Tennyson;" 10. "Weather Prevision." As to the next step in the political career of Canada the first article says that "the movement is toward the placing of the relations between the parent State and its great dependency on a basis which will strengthen the empire and at the same time give Canada even a higher position in the councils of the imperial State." The students of Dante, says the second article, "in spite of the deplorable neglect of the study of Italian in our schools and examinations," are, "in these closing years of the nineteenth century, a large and ever-increasing body." The seventh article reviews the reminiscences of Paul Thiébault, "a soldier of mark, known as a good military writer in his day, who took an honorable if not a prominent part in many of the stirring scenes of the great drama of war which began at Valmy and closed at Waterloo, and who, having survived many of his companions in arms, passed quietly away under the monarchy of July." His volumes, "if not of great value," are rated as "pleasant reading." Some of the difficulties that inhere in the pursuit of meteorology are set forth in the last article. "It is certain," the *Review* concludes, "that, at the present time, no possible method of calculating weather in advance has appeared. But, considering what we have learned during the past thirty years, we find it difficult to pledge ourselves to a belief that results still more important are not waiting for the arrival of the man and the hour."

In the opening article of the *Canadian Methodist Review* for May-June the Rev. T. Manning discusses "The Consciousness of Christ," contending that the true interpretation of the Saviour is to be found "in himself, and in the history that is specially his own." The Rev. R. P. Bowles writes a pertinent article on "The Minister's Code of Honor," showing the delicate relations existing between preachers, and pointing out how one should treat his brethren. Dr. W. I. Shaw follows with a paper on "Connectionalism in Education;" the Rev. W. M. Patton with "Isaiah VI—An Essay in Interpretation;" and the Rev. William Galbraith with "Sin and Crime." In the "sermonic" section is published a discourse of Dr. N. Burwash on "The Responsibilities of Educated Men," and an outline of Christ's life from his birth to his baptism, by Rev. A. M. Phillips. It is a thoughtful number of this bimonthly.

The *Bibliotheca Sacra* for July opens with a translation, by the Rev. J. Hendrik de Vries, of an article by Dr. Abraham Kuyper, of Holland, on "Calvinism and Constitutional Liberties." A paper by Dr. L. C. Warner is on "Capital and Labor." In "Ideas of the Future Life in the Pentateuch" the Rev. T. S. Potwin shows that the early Hebrews believed in immortality. The fifth article, asking "What is Sociology?" opens with a most able symposium by one hundred and twenty-six leaders in American

thought on the use of the word "Christian" as applied to "Sociology." The treatment of the subject which follows is able. Its writer is Z. Swift Holbrook. Dr. A. A. Berle follows with a strong article on "The Passing of Agnosticism," and Dr. F. H. Foster resumes his "Studies in Christology," begun in 1892. The concluding article, by the Hon. W. H. Upson, discusses "Injunctions and Strikes." In the editorial notes of the magazine is a valuable memorial notice of Dr. John Albert Broadus. In a review of Dr. G. D. Herron's *Christian State*, which follows, the professor is termed "an artistic impressionist" and "an impatient idealist."

THE *New World* for June has: 1. "Broad and Narrow in the Episcopal Church," by S. D. McConnell; 2. "Frances Power Cobbe," by J. W. Chadwick; 3. "Sentimentalism and Political Economy," by W. Kirkus; 4. "The Present Standing of the Synoptic Problem in Germany," by H. H. Wendt; 5. "Democracy and Religion," by J. H. Crooker; 6. "The Philosophical Basis of the Supernatural," by John Bascom; 7. "The Pauline Eschatology," by Orello Cone; 8. "The Alleged Sympathy of Religions," by J. H. Allen; 9. "The Book of the Dead," by Sara Y. Stevenson. The writer of the first article declares that the Broad Churchmen will not become an organized party. "If the machinery of the Church should ever pass into hands hostile to them they will regret it for their own sakes, but they will regret it a thousand times more for the sake of the Church. As to this contingency they are not alarmed. They do not think that the Church is in peril of committing suicide. Suicide it would be, they are persuaded, for the Church to permit herself to become the narrow, petty, unlovely, and impotent thing which a few ecclesiastics and a few dogmatists would make of her." In the third article the author expresses the belief that, while the Christian religion has hitherto been "a mighty power on the side of order and conservatism," yet "it seems only too probable that, in the approaching social revolution, Christianity must be reckoned with as on the revolutionary side." From the conclusion of the fifth article orthodoxy will enter its emphatic dissent: "When the spirit of democracy shall have fully recreated religious thought and feeling nothing will seem more untrue and offensive than the language which gives to Jesus a part to play in a monarchical scheme of atonement. . . . Then priesthoods will cease, hierarchies will fade, and mediatorial offices will seem profanities. Then the soul will claim its direct access to the Father, and Jesus will be supremely honored as one who showed us how to abide in God by living divinely in the service of love." In the eighth article the writer does not find much encouragement for the "sympathy of religions" as he looks into history. The success of the Parliament at Chicago was in showing how the great faiths of humanity "may best flourish, independently, side by side."

THE June number of the *Haus und Herd* reveals the hand of the new editor. His poem on the great chancellor proves the writer to be a true

versifier. The article on Prince Bismarck, by O. J. Gilbert, declares his views to be those of an orthodox Christian, but shows how his political actions frequently contravened sound moral principles. The reminiscences of Bishop Simpson, by Fr. Kopp, are valuable, while Bertha S. Ohlinger gives a graphic picture of the sway which Buddhism still holds in Japan. The magazine as a whole is a reflex of the world's progress, by pen and picture, and in it our German Methodists are to be congratulated.

THE *Methodist Review* of the Church South for June has: 1. "Chancellor Landon C. Garland," by Bishop R. K. Hargrove, D.D.; 2. "Augustine's Religious Ideal," by H. C. Sheldon, D.D.; 3. "Prince Colaptes and His Biographers," by Maurice Thompson; 4. "Bishop Hubbard Hinde Kavanaugh," by Bishop O. P. Fitzgerald, D.D.; 5. "A Comparative Study of Methodist Theology," by Professor O. E. Brown; 6. "Some Phases of Contemporary Fiction," by Professor H. N. Snyder; 7. "A Study in New Testament Exegesis," by H. A. Scomp, LL.D.; 8. "Preachers and Preaching," by J. W. Hinton, D.D.; 9. "The Making of Methodism: Studies in the Genesis of Institutions. II," by the editor. It seems a full number.

AMONG the attractions of *Our Day* for May are: "The P. S. A. Movement in England," by Robinson Souttar, the cabalistic letters meaning "Pleasant Sunday Afternoon for Men;" Joseph Cook's Monday lecture on Dr. A. J. Gordon; and "How Can a City Best Care for Its Poor?" by Ex-Mayor Pingree, of Detroit. Mr. Cook now resigns the chief editorship of this publication to make a tour of the world.——The *Gospel in All Lands* for June devotes much of its space to Africa.——The *Methodist Magazine*, of Canada, besides its usual attractions, has in its May number a memorial sermon on the late Rev. Donald G. Sutherland, D.D., by Dr. N. Burwash.——*Christian Literature* for June has as its opening article a sketch of William Lloyd Garrison, written by Leonard Woolsey Bacon.——The *Catholic World* for June has illustrated articles on "An Old Church in the Catskills," by Rev. B. J. Reilly; "Wordsworth: His Home and Works," by Philip Oléron; and "Personal Character of the Renaissance Pontiffs," by J. J. O'Shea. The Rev. G. M. Searle also writes "Dr. Heber Newton on the Resurrection."——The *Yale Review* for May has: (1) "The Government and the Bond Syndicate," by Brayton Ives; (2) "Views of Napoleon," by T. R. Bacon; (3) "Recent Reforms in Taxation," by E. R. A. Seligman; "The Western Posts and the British Debts," by A. C. McLaughlin; and "The London County Council and Its Work," by G. L. Fox.——Among the attractive articles of the *Missionary Review* for June are a paper by Dr. A. T. Pierson, on "The Indians of America," and one by Mrs. S. M. Davis, on "The 'Mountain Whites' of America." They show how much work remains to be done at our very doors.——The *Preacher's Magazine*, under the editorship of Dr. W. E. Ketcham, abounds with homiletic helps. Its June number has, besides all else, an outline of Ian Maclaren's recent sermon on "The Power of Other Worldiness."

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Growth in Holiness toward Perfection; or, Progressive Sanctification. By Rev. James Mudge, D.D., author of *Faber, Pastor's Missionary Manual, Handbook of Methodism*, etc. 12mo, pp. 316. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $1.

This seems to us one of the manliest books ever written. Some one said to some one else, "*Be* a book." Having known the author for thirty years, we know what we say when we affirm that he was this book before he wrote it. The book is like the man, as much alive intellectually and spiritually as he is, and as clear in thought, as pure in spirit, as utterly sincere, as unflinchingly frank, as severely truthful. With much lucid reasoning and crystalline writing on the subject of sanctification, it combines the record of an extended personal experience in pursuit of holiness. It might be called "The Anabasis of a Soul." The author's friends have for many years expected such a book from him; and now that it is here they feel it to have been as inevitable from him as *The Pastor and the Revival* was from J. O. Peck. It is part of the natural and necessary efflorescence of a life. Indeed, it seems not impossible that the supreme mission of the author's diligent and earnest life might be in connection with the matters treated in this book. There are not wanting statements which prove that he himself has felt a necessity laid upon him. On page 265 he frankly and truthfully says, "By ancestry, by education, by strong personal predilection, by uncommonly varied opportunities for private intercourse with some of the best saints of Christ's earthly kingdom, and by close study of all the accessible literature treating on the subject during a period of some thirty years, the writer of these pages has seemed to himself somewhat fitted for such discourse, if not, indeed, rather pointedly and peremptorily bidden by divine Providence to set himself to the task of elucidating this grand theme." Elsewhere he says, "If one has anything like a mandate from on high and feels a 'Thus saith the Lord' reverberating in his soul, why should he not speak out what God has given him in a straightforward way, trusting that it will find an echo in other hearts and commend itself as true to other minds?" And again he explains as follows: "The present writer does not expect to satisfy everybody or present a perfect solution of the problem. But he hopes to contribute a little toward that solution and make, perhaps, a trifle lighter the labors of that master mind which is to come and set all things in order. At least, it seemed good to him, forasmuch as so many others had taken in hand to give forth their thoughts concerning these matters, and forasmuch as the subject had been to him for thirty years one of peculiar fascination, to try if perchance the Lord might work some deliverance for Israel even through his pen. He makes no pretense to infallibility or canonical inspiration. Ever-advancing light may cause him hereafter to modify

some of the details of the statements he now makes. But of the essential truth of the positions taken he has no doubt, since the reflection, experience, and observation of a lifetime are behind them." However anyone may differ as to any particular of idea or expression, he will have to be an extremely able disputant who succeeds in breaking anywhere the solid symmetry and closely integrated coherence of the statements contained in this book. It is likely to be a long time before anybody will bring to the elucidation of this or any other doctrine greater intellectual ability, a more complete mastery of all the literature of the subject, including the Bible, or a more genuine and extensive experience. We are of opinion that in several ways this is one of the most remarkable books on this topic ever published within the bounds of Methodism, which is the same as saying in Christendom, since nowhere else has so much been made of the doctrine of sanctification as among Methodists. The evils which have sometimes attended the so-called "holiness movement" among the churches Dr. Mudge holds to be due, in part, to doctrinal errors arising out of perversions and misapprehensions of Scripture. To some of them he refers as follows: "Among these evils may be briefly mentioned the tendency to schism, to censoriousness, and to the perversion of Scripture. It is well known that large numbers who have become involved in this movement have separated themselves from the Church, some in body, and some simply in spirit; in the latter case retaining their membership, but refusing to cooperate with the authorities, being, indeed, thoroughly estranged from the ministry, whom they look upon as greatly inferior to themselves in piety and illumination. They segregate themselves from the rest of God's children with a special shibboleth, of which they are very tenacious, with special meetings, special leaders, and special literature, being thus to a very large degree a divisive, disturbing, and disloyal element, by which the pastor is continually hampered if, in the exercise of his godly judgment, he finds himself unable to fall in with their narrow methods and peculiar ways. The harsh judgments that are constantly meted out by some of the most prominent leaders of this party or faction to those who differ with them in opinion might easily be illustrated by liberal quotations from current publications and from standard volumes; but the task is a very unpleasant one, and we are unwilling to call any more prominent and permanent attention . . . to these glaring weaknesses and evident departures from perfect love of so many who claim to possess it. Especially to be deplored is the continual tendency, which, indeed, the theory itself makes a practical necessity, to depreciate the work of grace wrought in the soul at the time of conversion. The 'merely justified' are spoken of in a tone which smacks of pity and sometimes savors of contempt. They are practically denied any portion in or title to the precious words 'holy' or 'holiness' with which the Bible is filled. They are regarded as given over to sin as a matter of course, until a further work has been wrought upon them." About a quarter of a century ago Dr. Whedon wrote: "So rapid, during even the last ten years, has been the progress of thought upon the very fundamentals of theology, . . . that

our whole body of divinity needs reconstruction." If we mistake not, Dr. Mudge makes a notable contribution toward the necessary reconstruction which Whedon had in mind. Touching the particular doctrine he discusses, his book is fundamentally orthodox, but advocates and adopts a considerable change in nomenclature in the interest of clearness, consistency, and scripturalness. He goes immediately to the foundations, begins with definitions, and carries them clear through to the end, without reference to agreement or disagreement with previous writers. He exercises his own preference as to terms—and a highly intelligent, scholarly, and well-justified preference it seems to be—but agrees with the general Methodist consensus as to substance of doctrine. We say distinctly to all Methodism that here is a book worth reading, from a man who is entitled to be heard. To anybody who is likely to differ with him we suggest reading the last chapter first, as a preparation of heart for appreciating the book; the other chapters will then be read with an affectionate confidence in the author. If this book had been in the hands of Mrs. Marian Evans Cross in her last days it would have been of more use to a woman of her mind than was A Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*, which is of less value to the men and women of to-day than this hallowed and blessed volume by Dr. James Mudge.

The Permanent Value of the Book of Genesis as an Integral Part of the Christian Revelation. Being the Paddock Lectures for 1894. By C. W. E. Body, M.A., D.C.L., Professor of Old Testament Literature and Interpretation in the General Theological Seminary, New York. 12mo, pp. 230. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

Genesis has been for generations a battle ground. The history of the various attempts to interpret it makes a very interesting and instructive study. Dr. Body agrees with those who think that we have in the first chapter a noble psalm of creation, valuable for its lofty monotheistic tone, and not a revelation of scientific facts about whose reconciliation with geology we have need to be concerned. If the second and third chapters are not quite so fully cleared up as yet the explanation is expected to be along the same line. There seems to have been an inheritance of cosmological tradition common to the Semitic races. Babylon was the mother of much ancient literature, and the facts hinted at in the cuneiform inscriptions on the clay tablets dug up from the ruins of Nineveh resemble those found in the Hebrew records. But there is a momentous difference in the treatment of the facts. In the Assyrio-Babylonian literature there is a total absence of the moral and spiritual teaching which pervades the biblical account. Polytheistic and mythological elements are prominent in the one case, while in the other emphasis is put upon monotheistic and spiritual truths which have tended mightily to the uplifting of the race and the salvation of mankind. It is in this latter direction that the author looks for the true marks of inspiration and the proofs that God guided the pens of those who wrote this book, so that they were led to give us that which is absolutely unique in its wholesome and regenerating influence on the life of the world. We are not afraid of

any facts that may be discovered. We welcome truth from whatever side it comes, serene in our confident belief that none of the essentials of Christianity can be shaken. Dr. Body has put us in debt for a really excellent volume in these Paddock Lectures for 1894. He is properly progressive, and yet duly conservative. He is neither extreme and destructive nor stupid, antiquated, and bigoted. In regard to biblical criticism of all kinds, as applied to the Old Testament, he holds that harm will result from regarding any of these matters as fully and finally decided. In view of the many assumptions which have been confidently made in the past, but which even now are very generally discarded, he insists upon suspense of judgment and patient reserve of opinion. The final decision is yet to be given, and the end may be remote. There must be wider and deeper research, in which considerations archæological, historical, and theological shall be fully taken into account; and, especially, the ultimate decision will rest, not with oriental specialists, but with the enlightened consciousness of the Church of the living God, ordained for all time to be the pillar and ground of the truth—the Church put in possession of all the facts and informed by the eternal Spirit. Hence, we may work on in peace, freely using the sacred book for the high religious purposes for which it was given, sure that no conclusions of critics can materially affect the divine inspiration of the Scriptures or the reverent regard due to the revelation they enshrine. The author fitly calls attention to the highly artificial character of much of the literary analysis which has been so pretentiously applied to the Hexateuch, and agrees with Professor Sayce that, even if applicable to Western histories, it is entirely out of place in regard to ancient Eastern records. The mathematical accuracy of language and expression which these critics seem to demand from the sacred writers can with no fairness be looked for, and the conclusions drawn, when not utterly improbable, are open to the gravest doubt. He agrees with the judgment that Matthew Arnold passes upon the rationalistic conception of Scripture generally, that "it makes far more difficulties than it solves," and, again, "it rests on too narrow a conception of the history of the human mind." "The conclusion seems amply justified," says Dr. Body, "that the basis upon which the whole analytical division rests is much too precarious to admit of our building upon it any important conclusions whatever." The lectures which make up this volume are five. Their topics are as follows: "The Critical Problem in General;" "The Literary Analysis Critically and Historically Considered;" "The Creation and Paradise;" "The Fall and its Immediate Results;" "The Deluge and the Patriarchs." The lecturer has made a valuable contribution to the current thought of the day, and we shall welcome further results of his Old Testament studies.

The Argument for Christianity. By GEORGE C. LORIMER, D.D. 12mo, pp. 480. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. Price, cloth, $2.

Ten chapters contain the arguments from history, from Christ, from testimony, from miracles, from prophecy, from humanity, from achievement, from concession, and from comparison. The book is rich in

material and written in popular and forcible style. A preaching minister, an active pastor, has put into these chapters the fruit of a lifetime's study of the great theme of his ministry—studied, not curiously, in literary leisure, but intensely, under the pressure of the pulpit's tremendously oppressive responsibility, and with the whole man bent upon the effort to make the mighty argument immediately and irresistibly convincing to actual, sinful, doubting, needy men waiting in the pews for his message. That should be keen and powerful reasoning if it be not superficial, but deep; not hurried and careless, but studious and careful. Something of the glow of the forge in which the argument was shaped, part by part, still burns in it as it lies on the printed page. We have a notion that a book so made may be more telling and moving than one on the same subject written in the calm and cool seclusion of a retired scholar's study. Thinking that is done in contact with the suffering, struggling, hungry, appealing needs of human life, and on the brink where souls hang perilously and are pushed over by malign forces or snatched back and saved by the truth, is apt to have urgency and point and a desperate sort of grip and clutch in it. We feel some of that intensity in this book. The multiplicity of such books is inevitable from the very vitality of Christianity, which is a living faith, quickening every man whom it fills and filling every man who receives it, so that a passion for expression seizes him sometimes like a spasm, and he must tell the story for himself as his own heart feels it and his own mind sees it. This same living impulse is behind the prayer meeting testimonies of the humblest saints, and, also, behind the mighty marshaling of Christianity's facts in victorious argument by the writers of great volumes. Jesus Christ not only gave verbal commandment to his disciples to go into the world and preach the Gospel, but he puts into the heart of the believer the impulse and spring which sets him to singing, "I love to tell the story." So, by force of a double provision and insurance, it is made certain that the Gospel shall be told world without end. Moreover, the substance of Christian doctrine is capable of ever-fresh restatement, rearrangement, re-expression. In this there is richness and power—richness as of a kaleidoscope, which turns and shifts its colors into ever-new combinations; power as of an army which forms, reforms, changes front, and maneuvers with inexhaustible tactics, to meet each new or different movement and device of the enemy. New richness and variety of beauty flames forth, and new power strikes out from Christianity upon each new day and generation of men. We commend Dr. Lorimer's strong and luminous book. In it he has made his own restatement and set the imposing ranks in order in battle array.

The Witnesses to Christ, the Saviour of the World. Lectures Delivered before the Biblical Department of Vanderbilt University. By ALPHEUS W. WILSON, D.D., one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. 12mo, pp. 248. Nashville, Tenn.: Publishing House of the M. E. Church, South. Barbee & Smith, Agents. Price, cloth, $1.

Colonel E. W. Cole, of Nashville, Tenn., had given in trust to the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, $2,500, to establish a

foundation for a perpetual lectureship in connection with the Biblical Department of Vanderbilt University, to be restricted in its scope to a defense and advocacy of the Christian religion. Bishop Wilson was selected to deliver the first course of these "Cole Lectures." The volume produced is unpretentious, prepared, as its author says, "with great reluctance" and "unavoidable haste," and sent forth with much misgiving. The topics treated in the six lectures are the following: "The Inadequacy of Human Testimony," "The Conjoint Testimony of the Father and the Son," "The Testimony of the Works," "The Witness of the Scriptures," "The Testimony of the Spirit," and "The Testimony of the Church." The style is that of the pulpit. There are no footnotes or quotations, except from the Bible. The design evidently is, as the Preface states, to "contribute in some small measure to the salvation of men." We are inclined to question whether Colonel Cole has made the best use of his money in establishing this lectureship. With the thousands of magnificent volumes from the master minds of the centuries already issued in defense of the Christian religion, we scarcely think that a perpetual series from Nashville is really called for. And, unless an author has within him thoughts that press mightily to come forth, and unless he has done his utmost to put them in thoroughly effective literary form, why should another book be added to the vast multitudes with which library shelves are loaded?

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Latin Poetry. Lectures Delivered in 1893, on the Percy Turnbull Memorial Foundation in the Johns Hopkins University. By R. Y. TYRRELL, Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Dublin. 12mo, pp. 323. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

In publishing these lectures, Professor Tyrrell possibly intends to disarm criticism by suggesting in his Preface that he is not about "to construct a kind of catechism of what we should believe about Latin poetry, or even attempt to give an exhaustive summary of its contents." But it is rather his design, he says, to describe in a somewhat personal manner the way in which certain masterpieces have affected him. To continue in his own words: "I hope, therefore, that, if I do not constantly pause to explain that I am only giving what is in my own mind and not at all claiming any right to speak *ex cathedra*, you will not for that reason suppose that I am putting forward for your acceptance views which I am really submitting to your judgment." Yet a saving clause of this nature in a preface, even if it is seen by the chance reader, will rarely serve to exempt an author from criticism. In this particular case, the fact that the lectures were delivered before a great university, and that they were afterward carefully revised for publication, will give them all the force of serious attempts to convert one to the position of the lecturer. A professor from Dublin University, coming across the seas to succeed Jebb upon the platform, has hardly any justification, even with the strongest desire of saying something new on an old topic, for delivering himself of

any but well-formulated views before a critical audience. The pages of the "Lectures" have been made very attractive by an easy style and happily chosen illustrations. Indeed, one occasionally suspects that Professor Tyrrell is too entertaining, and the reader is now and then betrayed into sympathy with a view which he feels inadmissible. But, meanwhile, he admires the graceful skill with which his judgment has been assailed. The chapters on "Lucretius and Epicureanism" and "Catullus and the Transition to the Augustan Age" and the pages upon Juvenal are admirably worded essays conveying long received opinions in the freshest manner. Teuffel, Cruttwell, Sellar, and Simcox will always be standards of authority; but he who can occasionally put some of their necessarily labored conclusions into a few happy phrases is a benefactor to the student of Latin literature. It may be through Professor Tyrrell's love for the Greek originals, or from a feeling of the necessity of finding blemishes in all that is counted best, that he is led to take an unusually disparaging view of the entire range of verse-making by the Romans. And if he has found the beauties of Terence, Lucretius, Vergil, and Catullus, he has, also—or thinks he has—found their failings. As an example, the chapter on Vergil opens and continues so delightfully that the reader is hopeful the poet will be discovered to have committed only the ordinarily possible errors of a great writer. But, after twenty-seven pages of well-deserved eulogium, as if in compensation for too much praise, we suddenly come upon these remarkable statements: "I would say at once that the fifth book is all bad. . . . Indeed, the book has scarcely a redeeming feature. . . [It] might have been omitted with great advantage." But will those who have won the race with the Scylla and who have run the course with the graceful Euryalus have any sympathy with this extraordinary view? All will admit that the Æneid is unfinished in many passages, owing to the author's early death. But perhaps no one ever before suggested that the whole poem would be improved by the omission of either the fifth or the tenth book. The treatment of one other author demands a protest. The chapter of fifty-four pages on Horace is written largely to prove him cold in affection, pretending only a love for the country, a mere translator of Lucilius, and, finally, "a restorer where he has been held to be a creator, and a literary *poseur* where he has been thought to be a poetical exponent of his real feelings." In only a few pages of the chapter, and in comparatively few lines, do we find any suggestion that the author has felt the spell which Horace has woven about so many in the literary world. The great versifier, in his judgment, has been overrated. But the whole truth about the situation is to be found in the calm reasoning of Sellar, rather than in the extravagant image-breaking of Professor Tyrrell. The lecture would, without doubt, please an afternoon audience seeking something pronounced in literary criticism. But it does not read well when grown cold and put into print. This was the largest shaft in the professor's quiver. After saying this much, it is a pleasure to commend the generous praise which the author gives to a few of the smaller poets. It is, for instance, gratifying to find some one who defends, against Juve-

nal, Cicero's celebrated "O fortunatam natam me consule Romam"—a verse which has never deserved the odium heaped upon it. On the subject of satire and in its estimates of the work of Lucretius and of Catullus the book will also be especially helpful.

Letters of Emily Dickinson. Edited by MABEL LOOMIS TODD. In two volumes, 16mo, pp. 454. Boston: Roberts Brothers. Price, cloth, ornamental, $2.

The singularly delightful poems of Emily Dickinson, published a few years ago, piqued the public mind with an intense curiosity to know more of the personality and history of this strange woman, before unheard of, but now, years after her death, suddenly famous. The announcement of two volumes of her letters was therefore received with interest, and they have been eagerly read. All the public is ever likely to know about her stands in statement or lies in solution in these pretty volumes, which contain the letters of many years, from her fourteenth year to the solemn line she wrote to her cousins from her deathbed, May 15, 1886: "LITTLE COUSINS: Called back. EMILY." Colonel Higginson says: "Few events in American literary history have been more curious than the sudden rise of Emily Dickinson into a posthumous fame, only more accentuated by the utterly recluse character of her life and by her aversion to even a literary publicity." He has elsewhere told the story of his peculiar acquaintance with his enigmatic "scholar," as she insisted on calling herself; and the letters which were her part of the correspondence between them are in the volumes before us. Her letters are as unique and piquant as her poems, and show a more human, humorous, and natural side of her in free and easy *négligé*. They are so arranged as to give the succession of events in her life, the variety of her friendships, and, in general, the range of her interests and thoughts. After a family moving from one house to another she writes: "I cannot tell you how we moved. I had rather not remember. I believe 'my effects' were brought in a bandbox, and the 'deathless me' on foot, not many moments after. I took at the time a memorandum of my several senses, and also of my hat and coat and my best shoes; but it was lost in the *mêlée*, and I am out with lanterns looking for myself." Of her invalid mother she writes: "Mother lies upon the lounge or sits in her easy chair. I don't know what her sickness is, for I am but a simple child and frightened at myself. I often wish I was a grass or a toddling daisy, whom all these problems of the dust might not terrify; and should my own machinery get slightly out of gear, *please*, kind ladies and gentlemen, some one stop the wheel, for I know that with belts and bands of gold I shall whiz triumphant on the new stream." Speaking of the changes that sadden earth, and the heaven where friends shall go no more out, she says, "If roses had not faded and frosts had never come and one had not fallen here and there whom I could not waken, there were no need of other heaven than the one below—and if God had been here this summer and seen the things I have seen, I guess he would think his paradise superfluous." When she is anxious over her only sister's illness: "Sisters are brittle things. God was penurious with me, which makes

me shrewd with him." Other random bits, without connection, are: "House is being cleaned; I prefer pestilence;" "Blossoms belong to the bee, if needs be by *habeas corpus;*" "November always seemed to me the Norway of the year;" "Confidence in daybreak modifies dusk;" "Doubt, like a mosquito, buzzes round my faith;" "Spring is a happiness so beautiful, so unique, so unexpected that I don't know what to do with my heart;" "Spectacular as Disraeli and sincere as Gladstone;" "Till the first friend dies we think ecstasy impersonal, but then discover that he was the cup from which we drank it;" "Housekeeping is a prickly art;" "I was thinking to-day as I noticed that the supernatural was only the natural disclosed. Not revelation 'tis that waits, but our unfurnished eyes;" "An Indian woman, with gay baskets and a dazzling baby, at the kitchen door. I asked her what the baby liked, and she said 'to step.' The prairie before the door was gay with flowers of hay, and I let the baby in. She argued with the birds, she leaned on clover walls and they fell and dropped her. With jargon sweeter than a bell, she grappled buttercups, and they sank together, the buttercups the heaviest." In one letter to a friend she put these lines which she had written:

There is no frigate like a book
To take us lands away,
Nor any coursers like a page
Of prancing poetry.
This traverse may the poorest take,
Without oppress of toll;
How frugal is the chariot
That bears the human soul.

A word about jealousy ends our quotations: "Why should we censure Othello, when the criterion Lover says, 'Thou shalt have no other gods before me?'"

The Church and the Kingdom. By WASHINGTON GLADDEN. 12mo, pp. 75. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

Two addresses, delivered in May, 1894, are here given a permanent form which their importance fully warrants. Whatever Dr. Gladden writes is worth reading. It provokes thought, at least. The first address defines the kingdom of God as being, in its largest sense, "the whole social organism, so far as it is affected by divine influences." "The complete Christianization of all life is what we pray for and work for when we work and pray for the coming of the kingdom of heaven." "The Church is the organization in which religion is made our *special* care." "The kingdom of heaven is the entire social organism in its ideal perfection; the Church is one of the organs—the most central and important of them all—having much the same relation to Christian society that the brain has to the body." These sentences express the leading distinctions which are worked out and applied with much force and skill. The second lecture, given to the graduating class at Oberlin, is entitled "The Law of the

Kingdom." It is largely occupied with refuting Dr. Lyman Abbott's assertion that to love one's neighbor as one's self is not the Christian law of love, but only the Jewish law of justice. Dr. Gladden holds, and we think correctly, that what Christ calls the first and second commandments were not merely his summary of Jewish morality, but his own restatement of the law of life, and that pure altruism is not the distinctive principle of Christian morality. There was self-assertion as well as self-denial in Christ, a sublime self-regard as well as self-abnegation. A certain respect for self and declaration of the worth of self enter as a primal element into all true love. Only he who loves himself highly and nobly can love another worthily. We have no right to love our neighbor more than ourselves or to sacrifice our own manhood to our brother's. Both are equally precious in God's sight. We may well sacrifice the accidents of life for the essentials at any time, but when the deepest interests of the soul are under consideration we cannot prefer another's welfare to our own; we can do no more than make it equal. In the spiritual realm pure altruism is impossible. Our own manhood and spiritual integrity must not be sacrificed for any consideration whatever. Indeed, the more one gives of love and hope and courage the more one has. These principles find important application in family life and in almsgiving. They are wholesome truths for the guidance of life, embodying an essential element of the law of the kingdom.

From the Easy Chair. Third Series. By GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS. 16mo, pp. 232. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1.

We have already noticed one or two of the preceding volumes of these delightful essays by the late occupant of the "Easy Chair" in *Harper's Magazine*. The present volume contains twenty-six additional papers, upon such topics as "Hawthorne and Brook Farm," "Beecher in his Pulpit after the Death of Lincoln," "Review of Union Troops, 1865," "April, 1865," "Historic Buildings," "The Boston Music Hall," "The New England Sabbath," and "Clergymen's Salaries"—the latter of which should appeal to many a hard-working pastor among our readers. In the presence of twenty-six such gems of finished writing and kindly feeling it seems a pity to find any fault at all; yet if the papers could have been dated it would have added much to their interest and value. We will not attempt to describe at length the contents of the book, but will content ourselves with one or two quotations which will speak for it more eloquently than we should be able to do. This from "Killing Deer:" "Lately I saw two deer, two stately bucks. It was a solitary, sunny opening upon which I suddenly came. They were lying at the edge of the wood, and rose with a startled spring, for an instant looked, and with one bound, as if they would leap over the tree tops, were lost in the thicket. The grace and charm they gave to the wood were indescribable. Into the remotest gloom they sent a flash of sunlight. Nothing fierce or treacherous or repulsive consorts with the image of a deer, and when they vanished the whole wood was peopled with their lovely forms. If I had gone back to dinner dragging a mangled body along the wood road

or carrying the piteous burden in a wagon, how could that sunlit beech wood ever again be so sylvan sweet and Arcadian? The tranquil, secluded, happy scene would have been bloodstained." And this from "Autumn Days:" "Let the hickories and pine trees preach to us a little in these warm October afternoons. A stately elm is the archbishop of my green diocese. In full canonicals he stands sublime. His flowing robes fill the blithe air with sacred grace. The light west winds and watery south are his fresh young deacons, his ecclesiastical aids-de-camp. He rules the landscape round; and I—this penitent old Easy Chair—attend devoutly when I hear the eloquent rustling of his voice, as the neighbors of Saint George Herbert, of Bemerton, used to stop their plows in the furrow and bow, with uncovered head, while the sound of his chapel bell tinkled in the air."

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier. By SAMUEL T. PICKARD. In two volumes, 12mo, pp. vi, 802. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $4.

It is doubtful if America has ever known a more lovable or beloved man than Greenleaf Whittier. Children, strong men of business, hearts with burdens, everybody, loved that simple man. When tidings of his death, which occurred September 7, 1892, were borne to his lifelong friend, Oliver Wendell Holmes, the dear old Autocrat of the Breakfast Table said, "One of the sweetest natures and one of the sweetest singers we ever had, or shall ever have, is gone from us." His was such a blameless life! When men speak of Byron they must always throw about him the cloak of their charity. Poe had his terrible weaknesses, and we have to overlook them. One can never read Burns without feeling in his heart, "Poor fellow!" He was so impotent of will. But there is nothing in the long life of Whittier that we feel called upon to excuse or extenuate. Not even do we speak of him as a "man with faults." Though living in the face of the public for full sixty years, and much of the time holding opinions at variance with the popular mind, and opinions so hostile as to compel the keenest scrutiny of his life by enemies of his position, against his character the first word has yet to be spoken. The tribute of Dr. Holmes to the memory of his friend is a beautiful one:

> Best loved and saintliest of our singing train,
> Earth's noblest tributes to thy name belong;
> A lifelong record closed without a stain,
> A blameless memory shrined in deathless song.

Whittier's life was a long one; he was born December 17, 1807. It was a simple life. Into a plain home he came—a New England Quaker farmer's home—with blood of Puritan and Huguenot in his veins. The floors were uncarpeted, but now and then white sand was scattered over them. Few books were on the shelves, not more than thirty volumes in all, mostly biographies of Quaker worthies. The Bible was held

in reverence and daily read. But when young Greenleaf expressed grave doubts as to the morality of some of the acts recorded in the Old Testament, and dared to question the Quakerism of David, because of his warlike tendencies, his father made him confine his reading of the Bible to the gospels and epistles. The influence of the Bible upon Whittier is so apparent that Stedman says, "The Bible is rarely absent from his verse, and its spirit never." His poetic instincts were first aroused by hearing his school-teacher read from a volume of Burns one evening as they sat about the fireplace, the reader all unconscious of the interest being awakened in the heart of the shy boy of fourteen, who in his corner was eagerly listening. From that time for seventy years the fires burned. The account of the first appearance of one of his poems is of unusual interest. "His sister Mary, feeling confident that some of his poems were as good as those she saw in the poets' corner of the *Free Press*, determined to offer one of them to that paper without giving the editor any hint of the source from whence it came. William Lloyd Garrison had just started this weekly paper in Newburyport, and its humanitarian tone so pleased the Quaker, John Whittier, that he subscribed for it. Garrison was only two years older than Whittier, but he began editorial work at an early age and was, in literary experience, much the senior of the young poet. One day he found under the door of his office a poem entitled, 'The Exile's Departure,' by and signed, 'W.' The piece was written during the previous year, and Mary had selected it as, in her opinion, the one most likely to be accepted. She sent it without her brother's knowledge. It was, therefore, a great surprise to the young poet when he opened the paper and turned to the column in which poetry was usually printed, to find his own verses conspicuously displayed. The paper came to him when he was with his father mending a stone wall by the roadside, picking up and placing the stones in position. As they were thus engaged the postman passed them on horseback and tossed the paper to the young man. His heart stood still a moment when he saw his own verses. Such delight as his comes only once in the lifetime of any aspirant to literary fame. His father at last called to him to put up the paper and keep at work. But he could not resist the temptation to take the paper again and again from his pocket to stare at his lines in print. He has said he was sure that he did not read a word of the poem all the time he looked at it." That was the beginning. His last verses were written about ten days before his death and were as prophetic as beautiful:

> The hours draw near, howe'er delayed and late,
> When at the eternal gate
> We leave the words and works we call our own
> And lift void hands alone
>
> For love to fill. Our nakedness of soul
> Brings to that gate no toll;
> Giftless we come to Him who all things gives,
> And live because He lives.

Doubtless the chief interest in these volumes will center in the chapters which deal with the early political ambitions of Whittier. Letters now published for the first time reveal these hitherto undreamed-of ambitions. The editor wisely says that "these letters do not fairly represent him when judged by the tenor of his later life, but without them we could have no true idea of his early manhood and of the great change which marked his religious, literary, and political life when about twenty-seven years of age. Previous to this time, while irreproachable in morals, no deep conviction of duty seems to have nerved him to self-denying, heroic action. He was evidently looking forward to a political, rather than a literary, career." "As a power in politics, even when working in a small minority, Whittier has never been rightly estimated." His taste for political life was acquired while he was editor of political papers in Boston and Hartford. Early he became possessed of an ambition, not only to help shape the policy of the party to which he belonged, but also to select the men who should carry that policy into operation. In the letters written at this time from the seclusion of his farm he refers to Choate, General Jackson, Calhoun, Clay, Webster, and others who were conspicuous. "I trust that Mr. Webster will beware how he lends himself to Jacksonism, and that Mr. Clay will hold aloof from nullification. The one is Scylla, the other Charybdis. But I do hope that Mr. Clay will oppose the placing of the whole military force of the United States in the hands of General Jackson. I would as soon trust it in the hands of the devil." He began his political life as a partisan of Clay. "I admire Clay and shall do all I can to promote his success," he writes a friend; nor did he abandon Clay until he realized how hopeless it was to expect from him any real service to the cause of freedom. Very early in his career his political friends urged him to allow himself to be a candidate for representative to Congress. He would have been nominated but for an insuperable barrier to which he called their attention—his age was a year under the constitutional requirement. Of the strength of his political ambition at this time there can now be no question. He suggested to his friends the prolongation of the struggle until he should become twenty-five years of age, which would be in December of that year, saying, "The truth of the matter is, the thing would be peculiarly beneficial to me; if not at home, it would be so abroad. It would give me an opportunity of seeing and knowing our public characters, and in case of Mr. Clay's election might enable me to do something for myself or my friends. It would be worth more to me now, young as I am, than almost any office after I had reached the meridian of life. In this matter, if I know my own heart, I am not entirely selfish. I never yet deserted a friend, and I never will. If my friends enable me to acquire influence it shall be exerted for their benefit. And, give me once an opportunity of exercising it, my first object shall be to evince my gratitude by exertions in behalf of those who have conferred such a favor upon me." But delicate health at critical times prevented his being the candidate of his party, and in a short time his political ambitions were deliberately sacrificed upon the altar of human freedom. Thereafter he was spurred

by duty. Conscience alone was his master thenceforth. There is something immeasurably sublime, like a mighty mountain which sets its barrier against the rushing billows of the sea, in his calm consecration to the despised cause of freedom. It was in 1833 that Whittier sounded the call. On through the years, ten, fifteen, twenty-five, amid assaults, contumely, and reproach, the stirring notes of that undaunted soul rang through the land. That was the time when his name was never mentioned without a sneer, except by a few hot-headed abolitionists. Then he was only the poet of a despised cause. But the years have brought changes. The laureate of the slaves is universally crowned. Whittier is, *par excellence*, "the ballad master and legend singer of the American people." Longfellow was a poet of broader culture, a writer of lays more melodious; Bryant wrote more comprehensively, though not more feelingly, of nature; Lowell had a vigor and power of poetic thought to which, save now and then, Whittier was a stranger; yet the poet of the people, the one shrined in the heart of hearts of the populace, was John Greenleaf Whittier. These volumes are made up largely of "familiar and unstudied letters" written by Whittier to his friends, treating of many subjects. These letters have been admirably used by Mr. Pickard in portraying the life and character and influence of the simple-hearted New England poet, whose life was a revelation of the spirit of Christianity, and whose impulses were unfailingly born of the "fullness of divine love manifested in the life, teachings, and self-sacrifice of Jesus Christ." Altogether, this is one of the most delightful biographies of recent years.

History of the Christian Church. By HENRY C. SHELDON, D.D., Author of *History of Christian Doctrine*, and Professor in Boston University. Five volumes, 8vo. Vol. i, pp. 619; vol. ii, pp. 562; vol. iii, pp. 612; vol. iv, pp. 449; vol. v, pp. 441. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. Price, cloth, $10.

This work evinces, both in style and selection of matter, more regard for the necessary qualities of a readable production than is usually exhibited in its class of writings. So competent a judge as Professor W. T. Davison, of England, describes it as one of the clearest and most readable histories for the general reader anywhere obtainable, useful to elementary students as well as serviceable to advanced scholars, particularly through its summaries, tables, and general surveys, and also in its fresh, accurate, and comprehensive study of the modern period. The *Congregationalist* says that it will certainly take rank among standard Church histories. Professor Sheldon's work is intended to be comprehensive and complete, supplementing all previous works. It covers the whole historic movement of Christianity up to the near present. While most of the larger works scarcely reach the modern era, this gives a volume to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, another to the eighteenth century, and another to the nineteeth. Two thirds of "The Mediæval Church" and seven eighths of "The Modern Church"—or more than three out of five volumes—relate to fields not touched at all by Schaff's *Church History*. A relatively adequate space is given to English and American history—domains that are notoriously slighted in the treatises of German writers. The general animus of

the work pays hearty tribute to spiritual Christianity. No lack of charity is shown toward forms and institutions regarded as meeting merely æsthetic or utilitarian ends; but underlying every volume is the intense conviction that to treat matters of ceremony and ecclesiastical government as fundamental savors of veritable apostasy from the Gospel and initiates sure tendencies toward a despotic Pharisaism. While the work does not pander to anti-Roman fanaticism, it is better adapted than most of its class, through its careful array of documentary evidence, to offset the white-washing efforts of Roman Catholic apologetics and to put in clear light historic facts which Protestant citizens, concerned for civil liberty and the safety of republican institutions in this country, ought to keep constantly in mind. Although histories in general are not apt to tempt the reviewer to make extracts, there are many passages in this particular work which might lure us to a long notice. In Volume I, which treats of the early Church, we are especially impressed by the picture given (pp. 7–44) of the Roman empire as a field of preparation for Christianity and as related to its introduction and spread, and by the account (pp. 243–259) of the growth of episcopacy. In Volume II, on the mediæval Church, we notice as significant pages 165–187 and 209–239, on the papal theocracy, pages 400–424, on Wyclif, and pages 427–459, on Huss and the Hussites; in Volume III, pages 7–34, on humanism, pages 301–317, on the reign of Elizabeth, pages 365–391, on the Inquisition, pages 391–429, on the Jesuits, pages 459–516, on the reign of Louis XIV; in Volume IV, pages 389–432, on German philosophy and theology; in Volume V, which contains Part III of the modern Church, pages 18–36, on recent developments in German theology, pages 44–129, on Romanism in continental Europe since the fall of Napoleon, and pages 136–162, on tractarianism, or Anglican ritualism. Of Strauss's *Leben Jesu* the author says: "The original theory of Strauss—not to mention more specific objections—violates a sound historic sense in the position and character which it assigns to Christ. As Dorner remarks, it is one of the best-established points of history that the central feature of Christianity, as the religion of reconciliation, which was clearly recognized in the apostolic and post-apostolic Church must rest back upon the deeds and sayings of Christ. It is unthinkable that the very first generations of Christians, as the Apocalypse and the Pauline epistles prove to have been the case, should have thought most emphatically of Christ as Mediator and Redeemer unless he had presented himself in that character. The expectation that he would come in glory to judge the world, which Strauss admits to have been a prevalent expectation among the primitive Christians, points likewise to the conclusion that Christ must have claimed exalted prerogatives and set himself forth as an object of religious faith. It avails little, then, to put off the composition of the gospel narratives till near the middle of the second century, in order to make out that the picture which they contain is essentially mythical, the result of gradual accretion upon a moderate basis of fact. There is no honest escape from the conclusion that in his own representation, and not merely in the exaggerating fancy of a later age, Christ stood on a

plane of supernatural dignity. Either, then, he actually possessed such a dignity, or he was an enthusiast who had utterly lost the way of sobriety through pride, self-deception, or mental confusion. The simple picture of a Jewish rabbi with an exceptional genius for religious truth, which was drawn by Strauss, is inadmissible. One must acknowledge verity in the high claims of the gospel narratives or imitate the hardihood of Renan in portraying the Founder of Christianity as a bewildered enthusiast. And what savors less of sobriety and credibility than this latter procedure, this assigning of narrowness and confusion of mind to one whose singular and growing mastery over the race, as well as the habitual serenity of his bearing in the gospel scenes, argues rather unique breadth, clearness, and penetration of spiritual vision and preeminent balance of religious judgment?" Of Dorner Professor Sheldon says, "Some reviewers have indeed spoken rather disparagingly of Dorner; but the patient research and wide vision shown in his works afford a basis for an enviable reputation," and quotes from another critic, who says that the most important of the eclectic mediating theologians and the type of the whole mediation school was indisputably Isaac August Dorner, "who possessed a deeply reflective Swabian nature, profound religious earnestness, and a vivid sense of the need of sounding by thought the depths of the truths of Christianity dear to his heart." Concerning another of the mediation school we read: "Rothe claims esteem by the double title of a noble and deeply religious nature and a unique power of constructive thinking. In his most elaborate work, the *Theological Ethics*, he has exhibited an organizing talent, a faculty for developing the vast theme of Christian truth from a special point of view, which recalls the great work of Schleiermacher. In method he reminds of Hegel; in content, of Schleiermacher and the most eminent of the later theosophists. . . . In harmony with his predilection for speculation of a theosophic cast, Rothe takes large account of nature as the eternal companion of spirit, and makes the spiritualization of the sensuous component in man's composite being a prominent aspect of the redemptive process." Another is quoted as saying of Rothe, "His method is deductive construction by means of speculative ideas, resulting in a Christian system of philosophy to which the supernaturalism of the Bible, the theosophy of Schelling and Oetinger, and the theology of Schleiermacher have been made to contribute." Professor Sheldon has given to the Church an admirable and valuable history.

What a Boy Saw in the Army. A Story of Sight-seeing and Adventure in the War for the Union. By JESSE BOWMAN YOUNG. One Hundred Original Drawings by FRANK BEARD. Quarto, pp. 390. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Sold by subscription only. Price, cloth, $2.25.

For real sight-seeing commend us to a wide-awake boy like the hero of this story. The eye of such a boy is as keen as an eagle's; nothing escapes his notice; he observes without prejudice; he remembers what he sees, and long years afterward can interest a new generation with his reminiscences. And in what place are there more sights to be seen than in the army—where the great game of strategy is being played, where brave

men are climbing from the ranks to the major generalship, and where a battle may come with any sunrise? Given a genuine boy as the spectator and the army as his arena of observation, and the conditions justify the expectation of an unusual volume of personal description. Nor are we, in the present instance, disappointed. The writer's own account of his sight-seeing is in the following words: "A stripling, in the stormy days of '61, heard the blast of a bugle and the beat of a drum—signals that the great war had opened. The sounds made his blood tingle and stirred his soul as they lured him to the front. He was then in the plastic period of boyhood, and the things which he saw and heard and felt took hold of him, biting into the quick—like the acid used in etching—and impressing upon his memory indelible pictures, in which terror and fun, privation and frolic, sorrow and joy, heroism and pathos vie with each other for mastery." And so the "boy" must write what he saw. "These pictures have haunted him for years, until he has at last transferred them to paper in so far as he has been able, in the effort to portray some of the scenes, experiences, and surroundings amid which the boys who wore the blue and followed the starry flag lived, moved, and had their being." It is enough to say, in a word, that the "boy's" descriptions are most captivating. In his company the willing reader finds himself in turn at Fort Donelson, Shiloh, and on the heights of Fredericksburg; with the Army of the Potomac in its winter quarters; at bloody Chancellorsville; and in the struggle of the Wilderness. But the picture which he paints with most vivid coloring is that of Gettysburg. So startlingly realistic is his portrayal that one gets a new conception of the topography of the famous Pennsylvania town, the intensity of the fight, and its crucial character. In the concluding pages of the volume the reader is attracted by the mention of Bishop Simpson's sermon, before the national officials, in the House of Representatives, and by the story of the celebrated parade of the returning army up Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington. And so "the pageant fades," before the "boy" has realized his commission as lieutenant colonel at the head of a black regiment. We enthusiastically commend this latest war story. It is a charming book for the boys who have come on the stage since the war drums of the Rebellion ceased; and many an older boy who turns its pages will read with moistened eyes and quickened heart the narrative of things he saw and of which he was a part.

The Footprints of the Jesuits. By Hon. R. W. THOMPSON, Ex-Secretary of the Navy, and Author of *The Papacy and the Civil Power.* 8vo, pp. 509. Cincinnati: Cranton & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, $1.75.

That Jesuitism is hostile to free institutions, that it has worked great harm in whatever country it has invaded, having been expelled at one time or another from nearly all lands, and that it would certainly overthrow our republican government and our most cherished liberties should it become dominant here Mr. Thompson very fully proves. He traces the history of the Society of Jesus from its establishment by Loyola in the sixteenth century to the present time, showing its relations to the

papacy and secular governments, its doings in various parts of the world, and its maleficent influence everywhere. He finds no difficulty in making out a very conclusive case against it, and, in view of the well-established facts of history, calls loudly upon the American people to be vigilantly on guard against these insidious and persistent foes of freedom. It can hardly be questioned, we think, that there is some danger to our beloved land from the encroachments and machinations of this wily foe, and that our common schools especially need to be watchfully defended against their attacks. We are not of those who consider that there is any occasion for panic. We are quite sure that the peril can be averted by the quiet, resolute use of just and honorable Christian measures. Some things that have been issued from the press in the supposed interests of Protestantism are a disgrace to the cause they assume to serve. But books like this, written in a good style and with as near an approach to judicial impartiality as can, perhaps, reasonably be expected from one whose whole purpose is to discredit a hated enemy, containing withal a large mass of well-digested information, must certainly do good.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Where Is My Dog? or, Is Man Alone Immortal? By the Rev. CHARLES JOSIAH ADAMS, Lecturer upon "The Cæsars and Christianity," etc. 12mo, pp. 202. New York: Fowler & Wells Co. Price, cloth, $1.

Is the dead dog with his master in the spirit world? This question, which the scholars of the past have asked and have not answered, a scholar of the present again discusses. His line of argument may be stated in a word. Showing more or less clearly that the beast and man have common physical faculties, and that in a degree the animal has the intellectual, moral, and spiritual faculties of man, the writer finds in this an evidence that the beast also has immortality. The argument, in other words, is inferential, and has only the value of an inference. The author's division of the work into paragraphic, rather than formal, chapters might be criticised were it worth the while. But the reader is attracted by the abundant and entertaining illustrations of animal intelligence which Mr. Adams cites, and finds himself in tender sympathy with the theory which is set forth. Though the book be only a speculation, it is instructive, reverent, and wholesome.

Children of Colonial Days. By ELIZABETH S. TUCKER. Quarto, pp. 100. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co. Price, $2.50.

This is one of the brilliantly illustrated gift books of which the Stokes Company makes a specialty. It has numerous full-page color plates, after paintings in water colors by E. Percy Moran, with decorated borders and other designs, making a book, rich to the eye, about the little men and women of one hundred years ago—how they learned to spin, and took lessons on the harpsichord, and played battledore and shuttlecock when our great-grandmothers were young.

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(BIMONTHLY.)

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., Editor.

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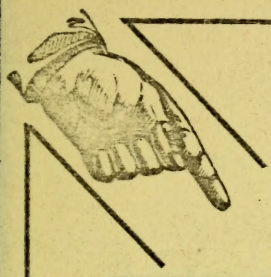

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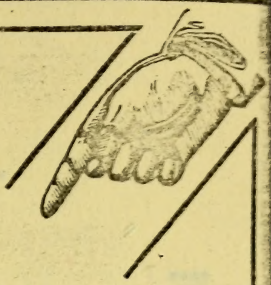

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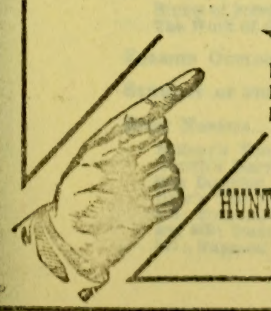

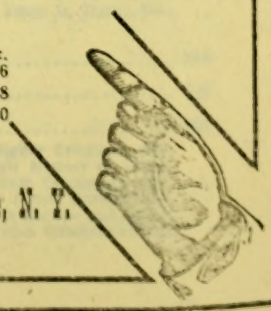

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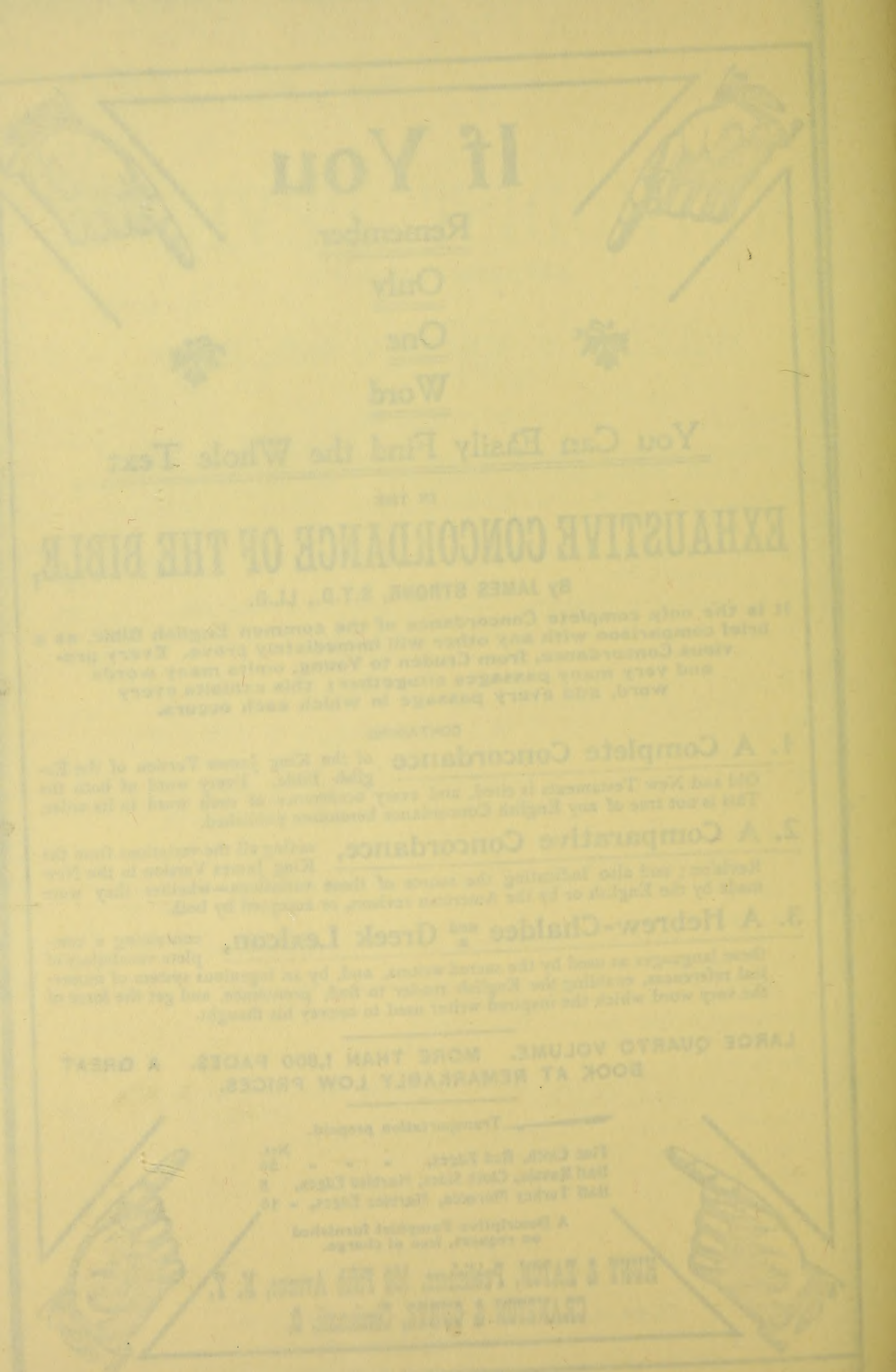

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METHODIST REVIEW.

SEPTEMBER, 1895.

ART. I.—THE SPECULATIVE SIGNIFICANCE OF FREEDOM.

BY freedom I mean the power of self-control and self-direction in an intelligent being. More specifically, it is the power to form plans, purposes, ideals and to work for their realization. Or it is the power to choose between competing or conflicting possibilities and to realize the one chosen. Wherever this power is present we call the agent free. To unsophisticated thought men are manifestly free in this sense. Their freedom is, indeed, not unlimited and lawless, for it exists only on the basis of fixity provided by human nature and the nature of things. But, within the limits set by our constitution and the physical environment, men have a power of self-direction. They are able to form plans, purposes, ideals and to devote themselves to their realization. Moreover, this power seems to be involved in the very thought of a personal and rational life. A life of the Punch and Judy type, in which there is a deal of lively chattering and the appearance of strenuous action, without, however, any real thought and effort, is not a personal or rational life at all. A life, also, in which consciousness is merely the stage on which underlying mechanical impulses masquerade is, likewise, no proper rational life. The person counts for nothing. He is not cause, but effect. He has no initiative, but is through and through resultant.

But, as I have said, this is not the impression which life makes upon the unsophisticated mind. It is only at a later stage, when reflection begins, that such a view becomes even intelligi-

ble. Meanwhile, life seems to be carried on by freedom or under the form of freedom. The underlying necessity, if there be any, at least mimics freedom, and that to such an extent that any description of personal life in terms of mechanical necessity would break down from sheer excess of absurdity. We see, then, in life, not merely a mechanical movement, but a personal and free movement. Within the bounds of law, free men are forming and realizing purposes and ideals, whether good or bad. It is this fact which makes history other than a branch of physics. Such is the appearance of life, and such our spontaneous faith.

But on the development of reflection this view is often discredited. The idea of law and of necessary causation is developed, and the doctrine of freedom becomes a speculative offense. Then it is shrewdly surmised that the belief in freedom is an illusion born of ignorance and thoughtlessness. Men do, indeed, imagine themselves free; but if we knew all we should find the reign of law as absolute in human action as in the movements of the planets. This surmise quickly passes into affirmation; and then it is given out that freedom is no longer admissible, even in idea, and, of course, not admissible in fact. Science or some other homemade divinity has pronounced against it, and nothing more is to be said. This sort of thing is sadly familiar to us all, and it has a certain plausibility with the critically illiterate. Have we any more certain intuition than the law of causation? Is not the reign of law a universal postulate of science, and does not every day confirm it? How, then, can we fail to see that the limiting result of mental progress must be to include all events, mental and physical alike, in one inviolable system of law and necessity?

The debate, as thus presented, is manifestly a speculative and transcendental one. It will be admitted by all that if we were really free we could hardly have a clearer sense of freedom than we actually possess. This, however, is set aside as illusory; for the difficulty in accepting freedom lies, it is said, in the very nature of reason itself. The argument, then, must be somewhat apagogical; that is, it must consist, not so much in direct appeal to consciousness, as in showing that freedom is involved in facts which all admit. The customary argument for freedom consists in appealing to the sense of responsibility

and in pointing out that freedom is a manifest implication of this and other facts of our moral nature. I pass this argument, however, with mere mention, and seek to show that freedom is as much an implication of the rational life as it is of the moral life. Hence the title of this paper—"The Speculative Significance of Freedom."

There is a very general conviction in speculative circles that the notion of freedom is an offense to reason. If we hold it at all it must be out of deference to moral interests and at a very considerable sacrifice of our intellectual peace. I believe, on the contrary, that freedom is involved in reason itself, and that the denial of freedom must lead to the collapse of reason. In giving the grounds of this belief I consider first the problem of error. That problem lies in this fact: First, it is plain that, unless our faculties are essentially truthful, there is an end to all trustworthy thinking. But, secondly, it is equally plain that a large part of thought and belief is erroneous. Hence the question arises, as a matter of life or death for rational thought, how to reconcile the existence of error with faith in the essential truthfulness of our faculties. Freedom, we shall see, is the only solution which does not wreck reason itself.

We may get an introduction to the problem, and also a good illustration of the ease with which men overlook the bearings of necessitarianism, by considering a passage from Mr. Herbert Spencer's *First Principles*. In the last paragraphs of Part I of that work he raises the question why an advanced and progressive thinker should oppose traditional beliefs after he has outgrown them, seeing that those beliefs may well be better adapted to those who hold them than his own broader views. To this Mr. Spencer gives this answer:

> He must remember that, while he is a descendant of the past, he is a parent of the future, and that his thoughts are as children born to him, which he may not carelessly let die. He, like every other man, may properly consider himself as one of the myriad agencies through whom works the Unknown Cause; and when the Unknown Cause produces in him a certain belief he is thereby authorized to profess and act out that belief.

There is something attractive and inspiring in this utterance as long as we gaze upon the well-behaved and enlightened apostle of advanced thought who thus nobly represents the future and the Unknown Cause. But when we remember that Mr.

Spencer expressly includes all other men and all other beliefs in the same relation, and gives to them all the same sanction and authorization of the Unknown Cause, forthwith we begin to grope. For it is not the advanced thinker only who stands in this august relation and has this supreme sanction, but "every other man," also, "may properly consider himself as one of the myriad agencies through whom works the Unknown Cause;" and when the Unknown Cause produces in every other man a certain belief he, too, is "thereby authorized to profess and act out that belief." But it is plain that "every other man" is a somewhat numerous person, and his beliefs and acts, produced and authorized by the Unknown Cause, are a somewhat heterogeneous collection, which includes all the superstitions, absurdities, and abominations which have ever been evolved and all the horrors and cruelties which have ever been perpetrated. All of these are the product of the Unknown Cause, and the believers are, of course, "authorized to profess and act out" their beliefs; for all these are as "children born to them, which they may not carelessly let die."

The passage quoted from Mr. Spencer is rhetorically fine; but fine writing seems to be about all there is in it. It certainly is difficult to make out what the truth is in such a scheme. The Unknown Cause seems to have, not one opinion, but many; and it does not abide in any one for long. Particularly for a Spencerian it must be a very grave circumstance that the Unknown Cause has produced a great many false opinions for one true one; that, along with a little truth, it has shown an almost overwhelming tendency to error. It has shown a grotesque tendency to revel in low and unworthy views, fetichisms, anthropomorphisms, theologies, whims, infatuations, obstinacies, instead of attaining to the sun-clear truths of the synthetic philosophy. This is so much the case that latterly many persons of a pessimistic turn, of course at the instigation and with the sanction of the Unknown Cause, have begun to think meanly of the Unknown Cause and all its works, and especially of the account given of itself in the synthetic philosophy. In any case, it is plain that up to date the Unknown Cause has not advanced beyond an indefinite, incoherent heterogeneity of opinions, any one of which has the same source and sanction as any other. This is pretty tedious; and we have dwelt upon it at such length

only because it illustrates somewhat strikingly the position in which every system of necessity finds itself in dealing with the problem of error. For in such a system every thought, belief, conviction, whether truth or superstition, arises with equal necessity with every other. The belief in freedom is as necessary as the belief in necessity. Theism and atheism, spiritualism and materialism, freedom and necessity, consistency and caprice are alike necessarily produced in thought. Thoughts and beliefs become effects; and to speak of true and false thoughts seems like speaking of true or false chemical action or true or false blood. On this plane of necessary effect the actual is all, and the ideal distinctions of true and false have as little meaning as they would have on the plane of mechanical forces.

But possibly we may think to escape by a definition, and say that true thoughts are those that correspond to reality and false ones are those that do not thus correspond. But even if this be formally correct we are still no better off. For if, of these multitudinous thoughts which are necessarily produced, some are true and some are false we need to have some standard for distinguishing them from one another. But in what shall this standard consist? It is not in the necessity of the true thoughts and the nonnecessity of the false ones, for all are alike necessary. The belief in necessity is no more necessary than the belief in freedom. It would not help matters any to declare that true thoughts are the product of normal thinking, for the same puzzle would arise in finding a standard of normality. Just as little would it avail to take a vote on the subject; for there seems to be no logical connection between the notion of a majority and the notion of truth. The necessitarian, moreover, would be in a specially sorry plight, as the necessity which produces beliefs has produced the belief in freedom much more profusely than the belief in necessity. Besides, if there be a standard, how are we to use it? The thought of a standard implies a power to control our thoughts, to compare them with the standard, to reserve our decision, to think twice, to go over the ground again and again, until the transparent order of reason has been reached. But on this theory there is no such power. Thoughts come and thoughts go. Some are displaced by others, not because of any superior rationality, but because the new conditions have produced new conceptions. When, in a chemical

molecule, one element displaces another the new combination is not truer, but stronger, than the old. So, when a mental grouping is broken up and displaced by another it is not a question of truth, but of power. There is, then, not only no standard of truth, but no power to use it if we had it. Thus all beliefs sink into effects; and one is as good as another as long as it lasts.

These considerations make it clear that the question of freedom enters intimately into the structure of reason itself. It is a question, not merely of our executive activities in the outer world, but also of our inner rational activity. Hence the advantage of changing the venue from the court of ethics to that of reason. In the former there is always room for speaking of the weight of motives, of the stronger impulse, etc.; and thus we fail to get the clear illustration of freedom involved in the passionless operations of thought itself. There is the further advantage that everyone practically allows this self-control in thought. We are able to think twice, to return upon the argument, to tear asunder the plausible and misleading conjunctions of habit and association, and to reserve our decision until the crystalline connection of reason has been reached. The necessitarian is impatient of bad logic in his opponent, calls upon him to clear up his thoughts, and wonders why he is so slow in drawing a manifest conclusion. Even the materialist, for whom thinking is but the mental shadow of certain nervous processes, expects logic, and to that extent attributes freedom. For there is no hesitation, no thinking twice, no reserving of judgment in an order of necessary movement. There might possibly be a mimicry of such hesitation; but the reality could not exist in an order of necessity. In such an order the resultant is at once and irrevocably declared, as in the movement of a pair of scales. If we should make the grotesque supposition of a series of mechanical forces endowed with consciousness, what possible meaning could we attach to their demands upon one another for logic, or to their mutual reproaches for failure to think clearly or for holding this, that, or the other view? We should have necessity mimicking a free rational life; but the farcical nature of the performance would be apparent to the dullest.

Hence, in the field of thought proper, everyone, in spite of himself, assumes that reason is a self-controlling force. Freedom of thought cannot be rationally disputed without assuming

it. That advanced thinker whom Mr. Spencer introduced as in a strait whether to repress or express the truth that was in him made all the motions of freedom in Mr. Spencer's hands. Imagine a mind under the law of necessity puzzling itself with such a question. As well might we imagine a scale pan debating whether to rise or fall, and finally deciding to follow the heavier weight. And then reflect on the logical character of a debate in which the point denied has to be assumed to save the discussion from becoming farcical. Such is seen to be the real standing of the necessitarian argument as soon as we transfer the discussion to the field of thought. If, then, we were looking for the most important field of freedom we should certainly find it in the moral realm; but if we were seeking the purest illustration of freedom we should find it in the operations of pure thought. Here we have a self-directing activity, which proceeds according to laws inherent in itself and to ideals generated by itself.

But here it is important to note just what this freedom is. It is not a power to make things true or false at will. The rational connection of ideas and the uniformities of external nature we can neither make nor unmake. If we have the premises we cannot change the conclusion. Now, it is clear that freedom, which I defined as the power of self-direction in an intelligent being, is not to be taken to mean absolute and lawless arbitrariness. Such a conception would swamp reason no less than necessity does. Freedom, except on a basis of uniformity and fixity, is valueless and fatal to rationality. And this leads to a discovery. Freedom and uniformity must be united in rationality, and neither can dispense with the other. In our rational life we find the basis of uniformity given in the laws of thought and the fixed connections of ideas. We did not make the laws, and we cannot abrogate them. They are forever secure from all tampering and overthrow. Yet, though thus imperative, we find that they do not of themselves secure obedience. If they did error would be impossible. Hence, in addition to the laws of thought founded in the nature of rationality, there is needed an act of ratification and of self-control in accordance with those laws. Only thus does reason become regnant in our thinking; and only thus do we become properly rational beings. Again, the truths of reason and of physical science are quite independ-

ent of our volition. Yet the inviolability of their existence does not provide for our knowledge of them. They do not get themselves known, but we come to know them only through slow, painful, and persistent research. Science itself is one of the great achievements of human freedom. We do not drift into it, neither is it let down ready-made from the skies; but by the ceaseless toil and devotion of free men the temple of science and knowledge is slowly built up.

Here, then, in freedom is the source of both truth and error in knowledge. Our faculties are made for truth; but this alone does not secure truth. We must use those faculties carefully, critically, persistently if any valuable knowledge is to be reached. The chief factor in the progress of knowledge is the will and set purpose to know. Our faculties are made for truth, but they may be carelessly used or willfully misused; and thus error, with all its brood, is born. Here is the source of the whims, the caprices, the infatuations, the obstinacies of men. There is no solution of the problem of human error except in the fact of human freedom, at least none which does not overthrow reason itself. A rational activity must be a free activity —not a lawless or capricious one, indeed, but one which directs and controls itself from within according to its own inner light and law. When this is not the case reason sinks into a mental mechanism, for which the ideal distinctions of truth and error have neither meaning nor application. In that case error is not a human, but a cosmic, fact. It is not a result of human carelessness or willfulness, but a necessary product of persistent force or the fundamental reality or the Unknown Cause or whatever we choose to call the basal existence of the universe. Then we have to admit in the cosmos, not merely an element of reason, but a strong element of unreason—an element which has worked itself out into all the blunders and caprices and infatuations of men—an element, moreover, which up to date seems to be much too strong for the element of reason. The puzzles in which this view would land us have been indicated in treating of Mr. Spencer's Unknown Cause, which produces and authorizes everyone's beliefs.

The traditional arguments for both freedom and necessity have generally been shortsighted and superficial. They have commonly confined themselves to our executive activities in the

outer world, and have overlooked the significance of freedom in the thought-life. This has been largely due to supposing that the psychological distinctions of will and intelligence represent a real distinction of things, instead of different aspects of one thing. In this way will has been set apart for unintelligent and unmotived willing, while the intellect is supposed to be complete in itself. With such a psychology it is not strange that nonsense has reigned supreme. In fact, however, both will and intellect are only a pair of abstractions. The reality is the willing, knowing self. The willing is not done in the dark of ignorance, but in the light of intelligence; and the knowing is not something that does itself, but something which is reached only through that will to know which lies at the root of knowledge. I am persuaded, therefore, that one wishing to find his way into this problem of freedom will do well to consider, first of all, the question of freedom in intelligence itself and the collapse of rationality involved in the system of necessity.

Thus far we have considered the significance of freedom in relation to the human subject. I next point out that, without assuming a free cause as the source of the outer, world the mind is unable to satisfy its own rational nature or to bring any line of thought to an end. Thus the search for unity and the desire for explanation and for the unification of the system of things in a common source are alike frustrated, until we pass beyond the order of necessary and mechanical thinking and rise to the conception of free intelligence as the source and spring of all existence. As we need the conception of freedom in man for the solution of the problem of error, so we also need the conception of freedom at the foundation of the cosmos to make it amenable to the demands of our intelligence. I argue as follows:

Only phenomena are given in immediate perception. Their causes are not given, and the nature of those causes is a problem to be solved by thought, not by sense. But the explanation of effects by necessary causes finally consists in assuming a cause or set of causes of such nature or in such relations that they must produce just those effects and no others. We carry the effects in principle into the causes, and our deduction of the effects consists in drawing out what we put in. We infer the causes from the effects, and deduce the effects from the causes.

But in all this we are simply manipulating an identical equation, reading it alternately from left to right and from right to left, with no real progress in either case. The gist of the method is thus given by Mephistopheles in "Faust:"

> The first was so, the second was so,
> And hence the third and fourth were so;
> And had first and second never been,
> The third and fourth, too, had not been.

We know that the first and second were so because the third and fourth were so; and we know that the third and fourth must have been because we know by hypothesis that the first and second must have been.

In a necessary system, then, there is no real explanation. We merely read the present back into past conditions which implied the present; and our deduction of the present consists in reading those hypothetical past conditions forward into their assumed implications. Our thought merely oscillates between the present actual and the past potential, without reaching any simplicity as we go backward or making any advance as we come forward. The fact, however, is easily overlooked, for two reasons. One is that the aim in much of our explanation is purely practical and does not seek for any ultimate reason. Hence, when we have connected an event with other events according to some rule we count it explained; and practically there is no need to look further. If, then, our aim be practical, and not speculative, we may content ourselves with looking for the laws according to which events happen. But such explanation gives no real explanation; it only postpones the problem.

The other reason for our failure to see the vanity of all explanation by necessary causes is the ease with which simplifications of words are mistaken for simplifications of things. The complexity and plurality of things disappear in the simplicity and identity of the class term; and then we fancy that the things themselves have been simplified and unified. To complete the illusion, we assume that the class term implies all to which it applies, and, hence, the corresponding reality implies all the realities to which the class term applies. But in all this we are the prey of a logical, or rather a verbal, illusion. When we class things together we do nothing to the

things. We merely get a common name, which leaves the things as distinct as ever. And this name, though it applies to all the individuals, implies none of them. But untrained thought mistakes the order of logical manipulation for an order of reality; and thus some term, like "matter" or "force," which is really only the last term of logical abstraction, is made the first term of real existence; and thus, again, the logical subordination of individuals to the containing class is mistaken for an ontological implication. Of course, a mind under the influence of this illusion has no difficulty in reaching an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity at the beginning and in persuading it to evolve to order.

But when we guard against the illusive simplifications of verbal thinking it is evident that, on the plane of necessity, the desire for explanation can never be satisfied. As we go backward we carry the problem with us; and when, in weariness, we stop the problem in all its complexity is still with us. In a necessary system the antecedents which are to explain anything must already imply that thing to its minutest details. If they do not imply it they cannot produce it; and if they do imply it our thought moves in a circle. The net result is that things are as they are, and no more can be said about the matter. A positivist, of course, would profess himself satisfied with this result; but the human mind in general is not satisfied. Human thinking has been notoriously prolific of explanations and philosophies of things—a fact which shows the tendency and need of our reason. Unfortunately, this speculation has largely been carried on in ignorance of its own conditions and implications. Hence the numberless futile explanations which cumber the history of thought. But if we are to escape the deadlock to which the notion of necessity brings us it can be only by the conception of free intelligence. This is, indeed, the only real explanation of anything. Until we reach this we merely lose ourselves in the mazes of mechanism and wander through exceedingly dry places, seeking rest, but finding none.

A similar argument applies to the search for unity. We talk much of unity nowadays, and, indeed, monism is quite the order of the day. The conception of a fundamental pluralism is cast out as altogether abominable. This fact shows the strong speculative demand for unity, but it by no means shows

how and where unity may be found. The unities which experience presents us are mainly of a formal kind, as when we call a crowd one. In such cases the mind gives the form of unity to something which in itself is no unity at all. Such unities have no existence apart from the mind which forms them. But the speculative problem is to find a concrete unity, and not merely a formal one—a unity which has real, as well as conceptional, existence. And after much beating about it appears that such unity can never be found on the plane of necessity. From the plurality of cosmic manifestation we could never infer a necessary unity; nor could such unity ever produce a plurality. If we start with a plurality we never get behind it; and if we start with a unity it refuses to move at all. If we decide to call something a unity, so long as we view it as necessitated we are compelled to carry some kind of mechanism of metaphysical states into our alleged unity in order to secure any motion; and then, though we continue to speak confidently about unity, we are at a loss to tell in what it consists. The opposed and interacting states are as far as we get, and the unity is only in name. Reason, indeed, calls loudly for unity, but it has no means of integrating a plurality into a true unity or of differentiating a unitary necessity into a plurality. Here is another deadlock for the speculative reason, and the only way out of it lies in the notion of free intelligence. This is the one thing that can be manifold without being many, that can posit plurality over against itself and maintain its own unity, and that can bind the many together in the unity of plan and purposeful activity. Apart from this the world falls asunder into an unmanageable plurality, having only the formal unity our thought attributes to it, and being essentially a contradictory puzzle for our intelligence. Hence, the mind must either lose itself in an endless and bootless regress; or it must rise above the plane of necessity to a free mind, on which the cosmos depends and by which it exists.

Thus far we have explained and illustrated the fact of freedom and its significance for life, for science, for philosophy, for reason itself. This significance will further appear if we next examine the opposite idea of necessity. This is commonly supposed to be clear and self-evident, while freedom is the difficult notion. This illusion is pretty sure to arise during the early

stages of reflection; but deeper reflection dispels it. The only clear conception we have of necessity is rational necessity—that is, the necessity which attaches to the relations of ideas, as in logic and mathematics. But this necessity is not found in experience, whether of the inner or outer world. The elements of experience and their connections are all contingent, so far as rational necessity goes; that is, we cannot deduce them from ideas or connect them by any rational bond. The necessity, then, if there be any, is metaphysical. But this is an exceedingly obscure notion, and one which eludes any positive conception. It can be neither rationally comprehended nor sensuously cognized; and the more we wrestle with the idea the worse our puzzle becomes. Consider the following difficulties:

Under certain conditions an event occurs, and we call it a necessary one. Now, the fact of observation, of course, is only that under certain conditions we have found that kind of event to happen. That it happens by necessity is something added to the observation. Uniformity of happening is all we find; and, so far as observation goes, it is perfectly open to us to view this uniformity as administered by freedom. The freedom and the necessity are no part of the observation, but theories offered for its explanation. If, now, we say that the event was necessary, that its antecedents compelled it, we must certainly suppose that there was something in the antecedents which provided for it. How shall we think of that something? The event itself was not actual until its occurrence. What was it before? If we say the event simply followed the antecedents, without being determined by them, we give up all connection —even reason itself. The event, then, was in some sense predetermined and preexistent in its antecedents; but how? Here we help ourselves by a word and say, "It was potential in them." But "potentiality" is an obscure word, except on the plane of freedom. Here it refers to the possible self-determinations of the free spirit; but what a necessary metaphysical potentiality might be is hard to say. It must be in some sense an actuality, or it could never modify actuality; and yet it cannot be an actual actuality without antedating itself. We are driven, then, to distinguish two kinds of actuality—potential actuality and actual actuality—without, however, the least shadow of insight into

the distinction between them. Thus the doctrine of necessity finds itself in unstable equilibrium between the groundless becoming of Hume's doctrine, in which events succeed one another without any inner ground or connection, and a doctrine of freedom, in which the ground of progress and connection is to be found, not in an unmanageable metaphysical bond which defies all understanding, but in the ever-present freedom which posits events in a certain order, and thus forever administers all that we mean by the system of law and founds all that we mean by necessity in things.

The metaphysics of necessity is certainly very obscure, and it is even hard to keep the notion from vanishing under our hands. Mr. Mill felt so strongly both the difficulty of the notion and the lack of proof of any corresponding fact that he proposed to banish the term entirely from philosophy and replace it by the empirical notion of uniformity. But this may be only the obscurity which attaches to all ultimate facts; and the metaphysics of freedom may be equally or more obnoxious to criticism. This, indeed, is very generally alleged to be the case. The leading difficulties lie in the supposed demands of the principle of causality and in the alleged postulates of science. We must, in closing, devote a word or two to this matter.

The objections drawn from the law of causation rest upon a misunderstanding of both freedom and causation. Freedom is ascribed to the will, and the will is abstracted from feeling and intelligence. Thus freedom is reduced to blind arbitrariness and loses its value. But this fiction results, as we have seen, from mistaking the abstractions of psychology for separate and mutually indifferent factors. Fortunately, psychology has got beyond this. If anything is free it is not the will, but the knowing and feeling soul; and this soul determines itself, not in the dark of ignorance or in the indifference of emotionless and valueless life, but in the light of knowledge and with experience of life's values. Now, such self-directing activity does not violate the law of causation. That law tells us only to seek an agent; but it does not tell us what the agent must be. So far as the law goes, a self-directing cause is as possible as any other; indeed, it is the only cause of which we have any experience. Of course, we cannot tell how freedom is made or how freedom is possible; but just as little can we tell how necessity

is made or is possible. But, though we cannot tell how freedom is possible, we seem to have some experience of it as a fact, while we not only have no experience of metaphysical necessity, but the idea itself is elusive to the last degree, if, indeed, it does not disappear altogether, either in a groundless becoming, on the one hand, or in the infinite regress, on the other. Hence, so far as the law of causation is concerned, the question of free causality is simply one of fact. If experience shows, or seems to show, causes which have any measure of self-control and self-direction there is no good speculative or other reason against their recognition.

But now the objections drawn from the postulates of science are ordered up. Science assumes the uniformity of law, and thus excludes freedom. Science assumes that under like circumstances there must be the same result. Freedom assumes that under like circumstances there may be a different result. The opposition is absolute and forbids mediation. Either, says Mr. Spencer in his *Principles of Psychology*, mental phenomena are subject to law or they are not. If they are not subject to law his work and every other on the subject are nonsense. This is peremptory; and thus we seem to be landed in a very grievous antinomy. On the one hand, a system of necessity destroys reason, and, on the other hand, the admission of freedom is fatal to science. But it is plain that the supreme condition of science is reason itself. It is reason which generates science, and it is reason in whose interests science is wrought out. A conception of science, therefore, which implies the undermining of that very reason which produces science is manifestly self-destructive. We must, therefore, assume the free reason as the absolute condition of science, and determine the aims of science in accordance therewith.

Now, the objection to freedom in the interest of science is mainly a closet difficulty. It may be formidable in closet speculation and academic theorizing, but it has no real weight. It is, indeed, irrelevant to the true conception of both freedom and science. It tacitly assumes that freedom means pure lawlessness, whereas freedom itself presupposes the order of law as its condition. Freedom uses this order, and science studies this order. Science concerns itself with the modes of being and happening among things and events, and their existence and nature

are in no way affected by the question of freedom. The forms and laws of sensibility, the laws and categories of intelligence are not involved in freedom; and, whether we affirm or deny freedom, these laws and forms exist as the proper subject of psychological study. The belief in freedom vacates the science of psychology just as much and just as little as it vacates the science of physics or chemistry. In both mental and physical realms the believer in freedom finds an agent acting in accordance with an order of law and, by means of that order, freely realizing his own aims. Freedom, then, is not opposed to physics or chemistry or psychology or any other modest science which studies the laws of things and events, but only to "science"—that is, that speculative dream which aims to bind up all things in a scheme of necessity; and this, so far from being science, is simply one of those uncritical dreams of which the dogmatic intellect has ever been so prolific.

There is implicit, however, in this uncritical dream a speculative aim which deserves consideration. It results from the desire for totality or systematic completeness. There is an unwillingness to leave anything unrelated and uncomprehended. Hence, the ever-recurring fancy that, if we knew all, we should find everything bound up in a rigid and all-comprehending system. But this aim, which is a legitimate one, is thwarted by a profound ignorance of the conditions of its own attainment. Hence, the thought to find the systematic totality in a metaphysical necessity of the mechanical type. The impossibility of this we have already seen. Even supposing that metaphysical necessity means anything, we cannot attain to any finality by this road. We lose ourselves in an infinite regress and a boundless plurality. We have, also, so little insight into the contents of this necessity that we cannot tell what any moment may bring forth. There is no metaphysical security for any law of nature whatever. It may be necessary now, but how long it will stay so or what will be necessary to-morrow is quite beyond us. Thus we are left hopelessly in the lurch by the necessity to which we appeal.

But, in our revolt against necessity, we must be on our guard against falling into the opposite abyss of lawless caprice. A world in which events fall out by chance and haphazard is also intolerable to intelligence. And the fancy that this is the

alternative to necessity has been one great support of the latter doctrine. As long as this fancy is held, the mind must oscillate between the two extremes, being driven out from either as soon as it grasps its implications. The only way out lies in the notion of rational purpose, or of a Creator who is working a rational work in accordance with a rational plan. In this plan everything will have its place and function and will be comprehended in an all-embracing purpose. In this work we shall have no unintelligible metaphysical necessities called laws, but rather uniformities of procedure, freely chosen with reference to the plan. At the same time we shall have no lawless and chance events, as all will arise in accordance with the purpose of the whole. Metaphysical necessity in the world must be replaced in our thought by the conception of uniformity, administered by freedom for the attainment of rational ends. Here in the unity of the free Creator, in the unity of his plan, and in his ever-working will is the only place where the world has unity, completeness, and systematic connection. Metaphysics adds its conviction that here is the only place where the world has any existence whatsoever.

In this paper my aim has been to suggest fruitful lines of thought, rather than to carry out any one in detail. It is plain that the problems of thought and knowledge are more complex and subtle than the offhand and amateur speculator imagines. Current thought is full of verbal thinking mistaken for real thinking, of verbal simplifications and deductions mistaken for real simplifications and deductions, of abstract and partial views mistaken for concrete and complete views. The only remedy is to deepen and broaden our thinking, by surveying the problems of thought and life in their totality and in systematic connection. When this is done it will appear that freedom, instead of being an offense to reason, is one of the chief factors of the rational life.

Borden P. Bowne.

Art. II—HANS SACHS, THE POET OF THE REFORMATION.

On the fifth of November, 1894, the Protestants of Germany celebrated the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of Hans Sachs. This humble shoemaker of Nuremberg became the most voluminous and the most popular German poet of the sixteenth century. Sachs occupies a unique place in the literature of the Fatherland; and a study of his life and times throws a sidelight upon the Reformation age which reveals many unnoticed, but most graphic and realistic, details. Hans Sachs was preeminently a child of his own times. To understand him properly and to appreciate him adequately it is necessary to study him historically. He shines most clearly and most attractively in his mediæval setting. One needs to stand in the dawning light of that wonderful sixteenth century; to walk through the quaint old streets of his native Nuremberg; to catch the sound of the awakening genius of the people; to count their heart throbs by the beating of their hammers; to feel the uplifting power of their new lore of learning and of their new hope of a fuller and freer spiritual life. Then he may look in at the doorway on the Kotgasse, see Hans Sachs busy every day at his shoemaker's bench, and be better able to comprehend how it was possible for this man to stir so mightily the moral consciousness of his countrymen and create for himself a permanent place in the history and literature of his age.

At the close of the fifteenth century, when Hans Sachs was born, Nuremberg had reached the highest point in its development. It had attained an almost unequaled commercial importance among the cities of Germany. During the Middle Ages the natural highway between southern and northern Europe was through the Brenner Pass, from Venice to Innspruck. As the stream of commerce flowed from Italy into Germany it emptied itself into the imperial cities of Augsburg and Nuremberg, and these became the chief markets for the products of the South and East. Nuremberg, however, was more favorably situated for trade with the North, and it also had an advantage over Augsburg in the great variety of its own manu-

factured articles. Its art industries were famous in all lands. Rarely does one find a more striking example of the influence of commerce upon industry and of industry upon art than in this mediæval city. The gold and silver, the pearls and precious stones, the ivory and costly woods which were brought from distant lands were a perpetual stimulus to the workers in these precious metals and materials.* Most renowned of all the mediæval artists of Nuremberg was Albert Dürer. The same year that Hans Sachs was born the young painter, then twenty-three years of age, returned from a four years' journey through the chief cities of Germany.

A city which had attained such prosperity in commerce and in art was naturally coveted by the powers of the Church. It was considered especially desirable as a center for the various monastic orders. There were cloisters belonging to the Augustinians, the Dominicans, the Carmelites, and the Carthusians. Notwithstanding the presence of these active emissaries of the Church, the people in general were never largely influenced by the clergy. There was a sturdy independence and a self-aggressiveness about the citizens of Nuremberg which made it difficult for the priesthood to subdue and control them. It is true that the indulgence sellers often carried on a flourishing business in the city, but the reason was to be found, not so much in the people's faith in the efficacy of the indulgences, as in their loyalty to the emperor. The pope was preaching against the Turks, and he and his hirelings must be encouraged in their tirades against the common foe. The ninety-five theses nailed upon the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg resounded through the land like so many thunder peals. Nor did their echoes die away. All Germany was aroused. The eyes of the intelligent began to be opened to the hollowness of clerical pretense. Men of position and influence sympathized with the new movement. Pamphlet after pamphlet followed each other in quick succession. But these discussions were almost entirely confined to the monks, the nobility, and the ruling classes. The real nature of the controversy was not yet clearly comprehended by the common peo-

*A manuscript catalogue, dating from the end of the sixteenth century and now preserved in the Royal Library at Berlin, enumerates more than two hundred distinct trades that were recognized in the city and district of Nuremberg.

ple. A voice was needed to speak to them in their own tongue and to arouse them to enthusiasm for the cause of the Reformation. That voice came from the shop of the Nuremberg shoemaker, in his first great poem—the song of the "Wittenberg Nightingale."

Hans Sachs was an only child. His father, a respectable tailor, owned the house in which he lived and in which Hans was born. It stood on the Kotgasse, now called the Brunnengasse—a street leading to a large square whose center has been occupied, for nearly six hundred years, by the handsome Church of St. Lawrence. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the city possessed four Latin schools. The instruction was given by the clergy; but the schools stood directly under the supervision of a committee of the city council, of which Willibald Pirkheimer, a prominent advocate of humanism, was chairman. It was to one of these Latin schools that Hans Sachs was sent when he was seven years old. Here, in addition to the fundamental branches, the boy studied grammar, geography, and singing, as well as astronomy and Latin. He remained in school eight years, and showed early a craving for knowledge and a clear comprehension of what he learned. The elder Sachs considered it essential that his son should learn a trade. Consequently, at fifteen years of age, the boy was apprenticed to a shoemaker. During his two years of service he made the acquaintance of Lienhard Nunnenbeck, a linen weaver and, at the same time, a *meistersinger* of considerable repute. From this man young Hans learned the first principles of mastersinging, of which he afterward became the most notable representative. But he was not long able to prosecute these studies, because the time for his *Wanderjahre* had come. Says Thomas Carlyle:*

Wanderjahre denotes the period which a German artisan is, by law or usage, obliged to pass in traveling to perfect himself in his craft, after the conclusion of his *Lehrjahre* (apprenticeship) and before his mastership can begin. In many guilds this custom is as old as their existence and continues still to be indispensable. It is said to have originated in the frequent journeys of the German emperors to Italy, and the consequent improvement observed in such workmen among their menials as had accompanied them thither.

* Essay on Goethe.

So it happened that the seventeen-year-old shoemaker lad must start out on his wanderings. First, he went to Ratisbon, thence to Passau, and thence to the picturesque town of Salzburg, where he found a school for mastersinging. He relates that at Wels in Upper Austria, in the year 1513, he resolved to cultivate the art of poetry as an intellectual recreation, in addition to his work as a shoemaker. His earliest poem appeared at this time, but he never regarded it as having especial merit. From Salzburg the young journeyman wandered to Munich, where he remained a year, becoming a director of the school for vocal music. Thence he traveled to the fine old city of Würzburg, on the River Main. It had an especial attraction for him, because here the famous early German poet, Walther von der Vogelweide, had ended his days and found his grave. Journeying toward the west, Sachs visited Frankfort and some of the cities on the Rhine. But he had now reached the fifth year of his wanderings; so he remained only a short time in each place, wending his way through the beautiful forests and quaint towns of Thuringia, until in 1516 he found himself again within the walls of his native city.

Among the noteworthy customs and rules of the trades it was a universal law that no journeyman could be recognized as a master workman until he had been "honorably married and had had a wedding." It therefore became Hans Sachs's business to find himself a wife. As he was by nature given to caution and deliberation, he appears to have devoted careful thought to the subject. Evidence of this is found in two Shrove Tuesday plays, produced in 1517 and 1518, and especially in a poem written in the latter year. In these he enforces the truth that true happiness is to be found only in married life, and his own subsequent experience proved the correctness of his theory. He sought as a life companion one who was capable in every respect, and he believed that he had found her in the person of Kunigunde Krenzer, an orphan from the neighboring village of Wendelstein. His parents approved his choice, and the wedding took place September 1, 1519. The house on the Kotgasse where Hans was born was presented to him by his father. Here, for several years, the young couple lived, and Sachs devoted himself to his trade. He failed to court the muse of poetry, preferring to wait until he should feel freer

from the necessity of providing for his temporal welfare. His industry was not unrewarded, for he soon became known as one of the most skillful and successful workmen in the city. In 1542 he bought a house on the other side of the river Pegnitz, in the Sebald quarter. The street is now called Hans Sachs Street; but the original residence is no longer standing. In its place are two small houses, on one of which is a tablet with the inscription, "Here lived Hans Sachs." Standing before it, one can almost imagine that he hears, issuing from the open window, the quick tap of the shoemaker's hammer or sees the poet among his books and papers, dealing the blows whose echoes still resound among the German people.

His marriage with Kunigunde proved to be a happy one. In his writings he often spoke jestingly, and even derisively, of the peculiarities of ill-natured women; but he did not find his examples or the cause for his satirical references in his own home. In the poem "The Bittersweet Married Life," a young man is made to report a conversation with "Meister Hans" on the advisability of marriage. In a long series of antitheses, with keen humor and a masterly command of language the poet portrays the light and the dark sides of married life. The lines begin,

> My wife is my paradise;
> My purgatory likewise.

And the concluding sentences may be rendered,

> She is my servant and my master,
> She is my wound as well as plaster,
> She is my heart's dear dwelling place,
> But makes my hair grow gray apace.

Allowance must be made here for poetical license. Sachs knew very well that all marriages did not turn out as happily as his own; and the twinkle of his eye as he penned these lines had in it nothing but love for his "dear Kunigunde."

During these years which Hans Sachs devoted to his family and his shoemaking the new doctrines which emanated from the cloister at Wittenberg were rapidly spreading. In Nuremberg Willibald Pirkheimer was regarded as a forerunner of the Reformation. He was included in the papal bull against the reformers, but in later years maintained a more and more conservative attitude. The real leader of the Nuremberg Reforma-

tion was Lazarus Spengler, first secretary of the council and Luther's faithful champion. In 1519 he published a defense of Luther's doctrines, and was the representative of the city at the Diet of Worms. The city council endeavored, however, to restrain the zealous adherents of the great reformer, and even forbade the sale of his writings. This action was taken out of respect to the position of the emperor. The council deemed it better to take no decided stand, either for one party or the other, but to await developments. When the Diet was held in Nuremberg, in 1522, there were great church festivities. Gorgeous processions marched through the streets; priests and prelates, elaborately arrayed, dazzled the eyes of beholders. But all these evidences of wealth, power, and glory made no permanent impression. They could not restrain the great popular current which had already set in toward the new doctrines.

For several years no poetical production had issued from the shoemaker's workshop. About this time his wife noticed that her husband was more given to meditation than usual, that he often took long walks alone through the fields and in the Laurenzer woods, spending many hours away from home. When she asked him about it he replied that he was thinking. Every evening he sat at his table, often until late at night, reading and studying various books and small pamphlets, which he bought secretly and read with as much avidity as though the salvation of his soul depended on them. Day and night his thoughts became occupied with what the Augustinian monk so clearly and so forcibly proclaimed. He managed to obtain a copy of the suppressed Nuremberg edition of the theses against indulgences and brought it home as a great treasure. Numerous editions of Luther's early writings were being issued, not only from Wittenberg, but from Leipsic, Strasburg, and Basel. They were widely circulated, and Sachs eagerly sought them. When the tract *An Address to the Christian Nobles of the German Nation* appeared the humble shoemaker thought that it would scarcely be adapted to his taste and circumstances. But when he read the bold words which Luther used in the Introduction—"God will help his Church by means of the laity, since the clergy, whose duty it was, have become altogether careless about it"—the poet of the people felt himself called

upon to utter his voice on the side of the Reformation. His whole nature was mightily stirred. The natural and inevitable result was the pouring forth of the famous poem, "The Wittenberg Nightingale." It was a tribute of love and admiration to Martin Luther and, at the same time, an announcement of his own evangelical faith.

The entire poem is allegorical. The nightingale is, as the title indicates, Martin Luther. His singing heralds the dawning of the day. His notes are strong and far reaching. They well represent the widespread effect of Luther's doctrines, as well as the strength and beauty of his writings. The song of the nightingale awakens the sheep (the Christians), thus arousing the anger of the lion (Pope Leo), who attempts to destroy the nightingale by sending the wolves after it. But the flock of sheep leave the wilderness, following the notes of the nightingale and escaping the wolves (bishops and abbots) and the serpents (the monks and nuns), who have so long deceived, betrayed, and sought to devour them. The traffic in indulgences, the reading of masses, the worship of the saints, the torments of purgatory, and all the long list of errors with which the priests endeavored to maintain dominion over their poor, deluded victims are pictured with remarkable vividness, unsurpassed wealth of language, and with scathing sarcasm. The shaven heads, the long prayers, the burning of candles, the carrying of banners, the offering of incense, the baptism of bells, the selling of grace, the consecration of salt and wax and water—all this and much more of the same sort constitute "the pope's divine service." Opponents of Luther are represented, according to a common custom of the time, as animals. Emser is the buck, the name which had already been applied to him by Luther; Dr. Eck, the wild boar. The learned men who directed their polemics against Luther are pictured as "croaking frogs," while the uneducated who failed to respect him because they could not comprehend him are "wild geese." The poem consists of seven hundred lines, and gives a vivid and comprehensive representation of the entire Reformation movement. Toward the close the poet rises to a high pitch of moral indignation against the tyranny of priestcraft and exhorts all Christians "to stand by the word of God," for "the end of the dominion of the true antichrist will surely come."

He declares that the sinful and doomed Babylon of which Daniel wrote has its fulfillment in the papacy; and, therefore, he calls upon all believers to

> Return from the wilderness,
> To our shepherd, Jesus Christ.
> A good shepherd he is,
> Prevented our death by his;
> Our help in adversity,
> Our hope for eternity.
> Let all who believe in his name,
> Now join in a loud "Amen."

The first edition of this poem bears no date; but Sachs in his writings gives its date as "the eighth day of July, 1523." On the title-page, underneath a rough woodcut which covers nearly the entire page, are the words from Luke xix, 40, "I tell you that, if these should hold their peace, the stones would immediately cry out." The woodcut represents a nightingale sitting on a tree, under which are the lion and the other animals named in the poem, while upon a mountain in the background stands the Lamb, with the banner of victory. The inscription at the head of the Preface reads, "To all lovers of evangelical truth Johannes Sachs, shoemaker, wishes grace and peace in Christ Jesus our Lord." The "Wittenberg Nightingale" may be considered as the poetical masterpiece of Hans Sachs. The effect which the author sought to produce was achieved in a far higher degree than he could have expected. The poem made an extraordinary impression. During the first year six different editions were issued. It is referred to by many other writers of the period. Some, like Cochlæus, the bitter anti-Lutheran of Frankfort-on-the-Main, sneered at the shoemaker; and others, like the artist Greifenberger, defended him and praised the poem.

The remarkable popularity which this composition attained encouraged the author to continue to champion the cause of the reformers. The next year he issued four popular *Theological Dialogues*, the only samples of prose among all the thousands of his productions. These are written in a style which was very attractive to the masses. The weaknesses of the Catholic clergy, their ignorance of the Scriptures and of the history of the Church, their love for gain and for a life of indolence—these are brought out with a freshness and irony that are ex-

ceedingly effective. Sachs shows how well versed he was in the Bible and how firmly he had grounded his faith in the word of God. He was probably well acquainted with the Bible before Luther appeared, although he did not possess one himself; but it was not until he purchased a copy of Luther's translation that he began to really make the Scriptures a subject of study. His skillful use of texts was one of his chief weapons in attacking the abuses of the Church. In the last of these dialogues, "A Conversation of an Evangelical Christian with a Lutheran," he manifests the spirit of moderation and toleration with which he regarded the controversies which were raging around him. He endeavored to restrain the extreme zeal of the Lutherans against the Catholics, claiming that the latter should be overcome by the word of God, and, wherever the Scriptures allowed, their practices should be treated with tolerance.* Sachs did not attempt to incorporate in his poetry a tirade against the Catholics or to overwhelm them in polemical discussions. He sought rather, by the use of the legitimate arts of poetry, to present the existing evils in such a light that the people would be compelled to rid themselves of them. He also rendered an especial service to the cause of the Reformation by his influence upon its hymnology. He changed many Catholic hymns so that they should be in harmony with what he believed to be a pure Christianity. For the name of Mary and of various saints that of Jesus was substituted. He also composed several new hymns and versified some of the psalms, arranging them for use in church singing. In 1527 a collection of hymns and psalms appeared, in which those of Sachs stood with those of Luther.

In the years 1539 and 1540 Sachs produced two poems of a more serious tone, in which he complained in most painful terms of the decline of the Reformation and the gradual disappearance of many of its most valued acquisitions. The first of these, styled "Martyred Theology," represents theology as a much-abused woman. It describes in detail all the martyrdoms she has endured, and pictures in an unenviable light the various sects and parties which were the chief actors in bringing

*Opponents of the Reformation have not failed to make use of the sharp reproofs which Sachs administered to the impatient, and sometimes immoral, Lutherans of his day. In Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzergeschichte* quotations from the above dialogue are introduced to prove the cause of the decline of the Reformation.

about the existing desolation in the theological world. "The Complaining Gospel" is a plea for God's word. It has delivered man from a long night of error, only to be again forsaken by him and to be despised and perverted. So disheartened is the poet at the threatening loss of all that has been so happily attained that he declares, "If Christ himself should come and accept his own word the narrow-minded throng would crucify him again as an erring deceiver, a rebel, and a murderer." He concludes the complaint with a heartfelt prayer to God that he may preserve to us his holy word, that by it we may be "inflamed through every part—body, soul, head, and heart," and that men may again be established in the true faith. It deeply grieved him that so many of the adherents of the Reformation failed to recognize that the purified faith they had received included a new and a higher moral law, and that they were under obligation to live according to it. Similar complaints were made by Pirkheimer; but, in contrast with Sachs, Pirkheimer's testimony must be discounted, for he lacked a firm evangelical faith, and his own private life was not above reproach.

The sudden death of Martin Luther, on the eighteenth of February, 1546, was a severe blow to all the Protestants, and few of them felt it more keenly than the shoemaker-poet. It was the occasion of a new evidence of his firm adherence to the cause of evangelical truth. Moved by his own grief, he wrote his "Epitaph to Doctor Martin Luther," a noble tribute to the consummate worth of the great reformer and a witness to the high regard in which he was held by the common people. The following rendering will give an idea of the contents of the poem, though it lacks the terse, vigorous expression and the melodious rhythm of the old German original. The poet says:

I thought myself in a temple built in the Saxon style, brightly illumined by candles, and filled with the odor of incense. Before the altar stood a catafalque covered with a pall. Above it hung a shield adorned with a rose, in whose center was a cross.* I cried, "O, God! what means this?" I thought, "What if this were the dead body of Dr. Martin Luther?" Presently there advanced from the choir, in snow-white garb, a matron whose name is Theologia. She stood by the bier of the dead; she wrung her hands and burst into passionate tears. With sobs she began and said: "Liest thou there, and art thou dead, O thou hero

* It will be remembered that this was Luther's coat of arms.

true and bold, chosen of God to fight for me so valiantly? Thou didst overcome my enemy by the word of God, by discussion, writing, and preaching. Thou hast led me forth from the great tribulation of my Babylonian captivity, in which I lay so long that I was well-nigh forgotten. My captors dragged me back and forth. My snowy raiment was soiled and torn. I was so bruised, wounded, and disfigured by their godless, human doctrines that one would scarcely have known me. My foes despised me, and I was counted as naught. At last thou, O noble hero, by the grace of God didst set me free. Thou didst bathe my wounds; thou didst cleanse my garments from falsehood and deceit; thou didst anoint me and heal me, so that now I am fully restored, strong, and pure as in the beginning. In the accomplishment of this great task thy life has often been endangered. Pope, bishop, king, and prince have thirsted for thy blood. But as one of God's heroes thou hast ever remained steadfast, faithful, and true, turning aside for no danger, and ever pursuing the pathway of God and of the truth. But, now that thou hast departed, who will be my defender? What will be my fate, so unhappy and desolate am I in the midst of my enemies?" "I will answer thee [replies the poet]. Fear thou not; be of good courage, thou holy one. God himself hath thee in his keeping. He hath given thee in abundance many noble men, who still live and who are well able to protect thee. Yea, the entire multitude of Christians shall stand thy guard, for thou hast become known throughout the length and breadth of the Fatherland. None of them will forsake thee. They will preserve thee from the vast multitude of errors taught by men. No power or craft can harm thee. The gates of hell shall not prevail against thee. Therefore, let thy mourning be only for this—that Dr. Martin, conqueror and victor, a truly apostolic warrior, who has finished the fight on earth and broken the might of thine enemies, hath now, by the tender mercy of God, been summoned to his eternal rest." And that Christ may help us all, after the misery of life, to enter into eternal joy—this is the prayer of Hans Sachs.

Death came still nearer to the poet in 1560, when his "beloved companion," Kunigunde, was taken from him. The blow was the more severe because he was left entirely alone, all of their seven children having died previously. The genuineness of his sorrow for his wife is touchingly manifested in his poem written in her memory. It is one of the pearls of his poetical compositions. In this same year Sachs made a "general register" of all the poems which he had written. Their number is astonishing. In this list he gives the names of nearly fifty-four hundred. These were subsequently increased to more than six thousand. He even surpassed Luther, and is probably the most prolific writer whom the German nation has

produced. The larger part of these writings are still extant. Several editions of his poems were published during his lifetime. In 1870 the Stuttgart Literary Society began the publication of a complete edition of his works. The volumes are critically edited, and, thus far, twenty-one of them have appeared. Hans Sachs died on the evening of the nineteenth of January, 1576, being in his eighty-second year. He was buried in the Cemetery of St. John, just outside the city, where lay the bodies of Albert Dürer and other noted men of Nuremberg. But, strange to say, like John Calvin's at Geneva, his grave is no longer definitely known. Thus ended the life of one of the most unique characters in German history.

The writings of the Nuremberg shoemaker present no great poetical problems. Whatever he thought and felt he expressed distinctly and clearly. The lucidity of his style is one of its chief attractions. It was to this characteristic, more than to any other, that he owed his widespread popularity. As one reads page after page of his poems and notices continually how smoothly, how naturally, how melodiously flows the current of thought and of language the impression is irresistible that this man was a master of the forms of literary expression. He understood the art of producing suspense in the mind of the reader, and he often used it to great advantage. He does not disclose at once all the details of the scene which he wishes to put before the imagination, but allows these to come to light incidentally. The description is mingled with the action of the poem. It is all the more effective because unnoticed. His style has a peculiar charm in its quaint simplicity. In the "Creation, Fall, and Expulsion of Adam from Paradise" he pictures, in a very naïve manner, Eve's alarm whenever God visits her and Adam's instruction of his boys, as he tells them how to behave before God, how to take off their hats, bow, and give God their hand.

The unique position of Hans Sachs in the history of German literature is worthy of special mention. He is the sole representative of German poetry during the Reformation period. That no other poets were produced has often led to the charge that the Reformation was antagonistic to the advancement of literature. Thus, Paul Lacroix writes: "The Reformation, it must be said, was everywhere fatal to language

and literature; and it dealt an especially severe blow at German poetry. Hans Sachs, the Nuremberg shoemaker, is, perhaps, the only poet who, trying his hand at all branches of poetry, ventured to brave the Lutheran intolerance." * While it is true that there is no other great name in German poetry during this century, it must not be overlooked that a similar statement can be made concerning countries which were not touched by the Lutheran Reformation. It would be difficult to find in the literature of any other nation a single great name that lends literary luster to the first half of the sixteenth century. The Reformation dawned at a time when German national literature was at its lowest ebb. Hitherto, the intellectual life of the people had been limited to a very small circle and confined within a very narrow range. It had been made to conform to the modes of expression current in other languages. The Reformation brought with it new forces, which created a new literary epoch. The Germans were impelled to cultivate their own language, to utilize their own habits of thought, and to develop the inherent resources of their own national life. It is true that the evidences of this intellectual regeneration were not immediately manifested in any marked degree. There was no widespread literary activity. The reason plainly was that the Reformation itself produced such a moral upheaval that the awakening intelligence of the nation everywhere turned its attention and directed its energies toward the profound moral and ecclesiastical problems thus suddenly revealed. It was an age of action, rather than of expression, but action which was inevitably followed by expression. The turmoil and unrest of the Reformation age furnished the elements for the rich literary deposits of the succeeding centuries.

After the middle of the seventeenth century the popularity of Hans Sachs began to wane. The reasons were his unexampled productivity and the changes which had taken place in the German language during the previous hundred years. The people no longer understood the old form of speech in which Sachs had written. For the poet's literary resurrection we are chiefly indebted to Goethe. He gave a true picture of the man in his poem "Hans Sachs's Poetical Mission." He taught

* *Science and Literature in the Middle Ages*, p. 448. Lacroix is a Parisian Catholic, and classes Wyclif, Huss, and Luther among the "heresiarchs."

Wieland to admire him, and the Weimar essayist praised the Nuremberg poet in prose, wrote tales in the Hans Sachs manner, and sought to enrich his vocabulary from old German sources. The influence which Sachs exercised over Goethe, Scherer says, is "traceable in his satirical dramas, in little didactic plays, in his poem written in praise of the old master himself, and, above all, in 'Faust.'" * Goethe began to write "Faust" in prose; but when he became familiar with Hans Sachs and his peculiar style he determined to put the story into its appropriate old German setting and to write in verse. It is thus to the poet of the Reformation that we are indebted for the final impulse which gave to the world the most celebrated dramatic poem in German literature.

Hans Sachs is the greatest "people's poet" whom the German nation has yet produced. He was himself a man of the people. Birth, training, trade, and personal temperament gave him a large sympathy with the struggling masses. As late as his sixty-third year he worked at his shoemaker's bench. He loved the common people. He lived for them, wrote of them, and spoke to them. The multitude of his poems on domestic and industrial life comprehends everything which a close observer saw around him. There is no important element of his times which he has not touched. From his poems it would be possible to construct a picture of the Reformation age which would be the most complete and most reliable ever presented by any writer. Schiller says, "The poet is a citizen, not only of his country, but of his times." If he be judged by this criterion Hans Sachs will be placed among the world's greatest poets.

* Scherer, *History of German Literature*, vol. ii, p. 100.

M. Walling Clark.

Art. III—THE GENERAL CONFERENCE AS A WORKING BODY.

It is probable that several changes will be made, in the not distant future, in our General Conference system. Leaving constitutional questions to others, we propose now to examine the practical workings of the General Conference in the past, that we may discover how to secure the highest efficiency of this legislative body of the Church for the years to come. The subject will be presented under three heads: (1) the number of members composing the Conference; (2) the length of its sessions; (3) its methods of work.

I. The number of the members is variable from one session to another. Some provision should be made to reduce this variation to a minimum. It is generally believed that a deliberative body of more than two or three hundred members is necessarily unwieldy and unfitted for proper work. A careful study of the Conference at work will correct this mistaken judgment. The national political conventions called quadrennially to nominate candidates for president and vice president and to adopt platforms for the parties they represent are not unwieldy; yet they contain approximately three hundred more members than our own General Conference and five hundred more than that of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. A comparison of these two Conferences will be instructive. The last General Conference of the Southern Church, held at Memphis in 1894, was composed of 343 delegates, while our own General Conference at Omaha, in 1892, numbered 504. The smaller body has already provided for reducing its number about twenty-five per cent; and a proposition for reducing the size of our own body is now before the Church. It appears to the writer, from personal observation of the two Conferences at their work—the smaller at St. Louis and Memphis, the larger at Cincinnati, New York, and Omaha—that the advantage is clearly with the larger body, and that an assembly of five hundred delegates is not too cumbersome for legislation. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has reduced the size of her General Conference before it had reached that best suited for such work. To those who believe that a great re-

duction in numbers would cure most of the infirmities of the great assembly of our Church the following facts and observations are submitted for consideration.

At the General Conference held in New York in 1888 there were 463 delegates. The highest number at any time present and voting was 459, leaving 4 absent or not voting. Fourteen counted votes, taken on different days, show an average of 35 absent or not voting. The Southern General Conference held at Memphis in 1894 consisted of 343 members. In each of the three largest votes taken the number of voters was 296, or 47 less than the total membership of the Conference. The average number voting in fourteen counted votes was 258, or 85 less than the total number. Comparing fourteen counted votes in each of the two Conferences, the proportion of members absent or not voting was over three times greater in the smaller body than in the larger. The attendance of members in their seats indicates, in a general way, the estimate put upon the importance of legislation. But the difference may be attributed, in part, to the better accommodations enjoyed by the larger body. In the unfinished auditorium at Omaha the conditions were not so favorable as in New York, either as regards the seating facilities or the acoustic properties of the hall. But even the Omaha Conference of 504 delegates—nearly fifty per cent larger than the Southern body—shows a better percentage of members present and voting than the Memphis Conference, which assembled in a church. The highest vote at Omaha showed 484 members voting and 20 absent or not voting. Fourteen votes on different days disclosed an average of 50 absent or not voting. It is worthy of note, in passing, that when the New York General Conference was brought to an end for want of a quorum more than two thirds of the ministerial delegates were present, while only about three sevenths of the laymen were in their seats. At Omaha an aye and no vote was taken May 25, and only 10 ministers were found absent or not voting, while 36 of the laymen did not vote. The Southern General Conference contains a larger proportion of laymen, the two orders being equally represented; but as no division occurred at the last session between the ministerial and lay delegates it is not easy to discover the comparative attendance of the two orders.

A Southern bishop said at Memphis, in the presence of one of our fraternal delegates, that he should be sorry to see the day when their Conference should become so large as to be compelled to go elsewhere than to a church to hold its sessions. But one of the advantages for work enjoyed by our General Conference comes from the fact that, when it became too large to find accommodation within a church, it sought a place better adapted to its purposes than any church building could possibly be. The weariness of the flesh resulting from a four hours' sitting in pews without support for the arms causes restlessness both in body and mind—a condition unfavorable to the best legislation. It has been urged in favor of holding the sessions in the auditorium of a church that the place serves as a wholesome restraint upon the members during the discussions. But the facts fail to support this claim. What may be called turbulent vehemence in debate, not to mention the use of irrelevant and biting personalities, does not oftener mar the proceedings of the larger body in its hall than those of the smaller body in its church. A few "sons of thunder" among Methodist legislators lose themselves in the ardor of debate wherever they may happen to be. The difficulty experienced in hearing the speakers in a large body is often presented as an argument in favor of small deliberative bodies. But this would prove too much; for some speakers would not be easily heard in an assembly of only two hundred delegates. At the Memphis Conference, with only about three hundred usually present and with the farthest row of pews only thirteen from the platform, there was as much difficulty experienced in keeping order and in hearing the speakers as in the large Exposition Hall at Omaha, at a Conference having half again as many members and four times as many visitors. With the present numbers in our General Conference, "unwieldiness" is a question of location and methods rather than of bulk.

Another matter has been advanced as favoring the smaller number—namely, the greater expense incident to the meeting of a large body of delegates. While an amount of nearly $36,000 is large in the aggregate, yet when divided among the whole membership of the Church it is barely one cent and a half once every four years per member—a sum too insignificant to be called a burden upon the Church. It cost the

Southern Church about $18,700, or a little less than a cent and a half per member to pay the expenses of her General Conference at Memphis. But the delegates received notice that they must pay their own board if they remained beyond the fifteenth day's session; and the Conference was afterward extended to the sixteenth day. It is hardly just to grumble about the cost of travel and board of delegates who get no compensation for their labors. A wise economy would insure a large but judicious expenditure, in order to secure the most convenient place for the meetings and provide all possible facilities for the work.

Another question for consideration is the provision to be made for the accommodation of spectators. Says the *Western Christian Advocate* of May 16, 1894:

> The first obligation of a General Conference is to the Church, not to the lobby. We would do well to follow the example of the Church, South, in having our General Conference committees sit with closed doors. We would do well to go further and have the sessions of the General Conference with closed doors. Eliminate the galleries from the problem, and the question of time for business becomes much simpler.

This utterance appears to us to have been made without reflection. The galleries are not filled with lobbyists, but with loyal and honorably interested Methodists—"devout men, out of every nation under heaven." It is not proper for any legislative body to transact its business in secret session. When a statesman speaks on some question of national interest the halls of Congress are crowded with spectators. So must it ever be when churchmen speak in the chief council of our Zion. Deeply interested multitudes will be there to listen, and the discussions will be the better for their presence. The number of visitors who attend the business sessions of our General Conference is much larger than that attending the meetings of the Southern Conference at either St. Louis or Memphis. Nor have the committees any need to exclude visitors, except on special occasions, which can be provided for as the needs arise. Our Conference has a decided advantage over that of the Southern Church, in that its principal committees are large enough to be representative bodies, and are thus fully competent to give thorough discussion to important questions

before they are presented for final action to the Conference itself. This is of great importance and goes far toward supplying the need for two houses of legislation. The committees, being unincumbered with routine business, have ample time for a thorough consideration of important questions.

II. With the great increase in membership and the opening up of new lines of work and new fields of activity necessitating much additional legislation, there is, nevertheless, a noticeable tendency to hurry through the business and shorten the sessions of the General Conference. The unseemly haste toward the close of the session should not be encouraged. Newspapers often congratulate the people upon the final adjournment of a legislature, as if it were an evil to be endured and the end of it a joyful relief. Shall we form the same low estimate of our chief assembly? Some who stand high enough to give their words a wide range of influence have uttered words that encourage the movement toward shorter sessions. The following will serve as a sample: "The General Conference will become more and more an unsettling and disturbing element in the Church." We have come upon times when important interests of our world-wide Methodism demand patient and careful consideration; but our General Conference of 1892 closed on the twenty-first day of the session, or six days earlier than the preceding General Conference.

Has the presence of laymen contributed to this haste? The General Conference of the Church, South, contains laymen in equal numbers with the ministerial delegates; and its session of last year was much shorter than ours at Omaha, adjourning on the sixteenth day. Barely fifteen minutes were given to the discussion of the subject of the federation of Methodisms on the day before the final adjournment. But their haste on the closing day is strikingly shown in a protest, signed by forty-eight members of the Conference, "against the hasty action of this body by which two entire chapters of the Discipline, covering the methods of trial and appeal of bishops, traveling preachers, and members, were adopted, without opportunity for due consideration, and even before the paper had been read to the body." In our own Conference, from the first day, a spirit of hurry seizes upon the members. Toward the close this spirit has obtained complete mastery. A call for the pre-

vious question or a motion to lay on the table can be relied upon to cut off discussion on questions demanding the most careful consideration. Deliberation, in any true sense of the word, is impossible under the five-minute rule and amid the general hurry that marks the closing days and tumultuous ending of our sessions. The last day at Omaha furnished a striking example of action taken without due deliberation in the strange proposition, sent down to be acted upon by the Annual Conferences, on the matter of the admission of women into the General Conference.

For this mischievous tendency both the causes and the remedy should be diligently sought. Personal convenience appears to determine the time of departure of many delegates, who seem to feel no sense of obligation to the Church at large or to the Conferences whose representatives they are. It would add much to the working power of the General Conference to eliminate the member who comes proposing only to remain two weeks, or until "his man" is elected. It would be well to dispense with the much-visiting member who comes chiefly to see the city. It might be of advantage, also, to require the chairman of each delegation to report the number of hours each member is absent from his seat. In the committees it often happens that a newly seated alternate or a member who has been "seeing the city" comes in to vote upon a question that has been thoroughly canvassed in his absence. It is not easy to decide which is of greater detriment to wise legislation—a vacant seat or one occupied by two or even three different persons during the session. The trouble, however, is much greater in the smaller General Conference—that of the Church, South—than in our own. Both of these matters—this haste in getting through with the business of the session, and this culpable inattention to the responsibilities assumed—are mischievous in their tendencies and unworthy of those who have accepted the position of representatives in the highest legislative body in the Church.

III. Much time is saved in our General Conference by making the action of the Committee on Boundaries so far final that the questions involved do not come before the Conference for consideration. This sort of work, usually of local interest, can best be done in committee. More time could be saved if

the election of all general secretaries and official editors were removed from the General Conference. Some better way of holding these elections could certainly be devised. Committee work, too, would be greatly improved if the smaller Annual Conferences should surrender or be deprived of their separate representation, and should, instead, be grouped together into and represented by districts, so that every General Conference delegation should consist of at least four members. With the present number (twelve) of standing committees, meeting on alternate days, it requires a delegation of six members in order to be regularly represented at all committee meetings. About thirty-six Annual Conferences send but two delegates each. These delegates will with some regularity attend the meetings of two or three of the principal committees, but will pay only occasional visits to the others. Few, if any, of the committees have more than forty in regular attendance, out of a total enrollment of considerably over one hundred.

With a General Conference not varying much from our last one in point of numbers, that is to say, containing about five hundred members, the best legislative work can be done, if the other conditions for successful work are only maintained at their best. It will advance the welfare of the Church much more to give careful attention to securing a proper place for the holding of the session, to providing all attainable facilities for the work of the Conference, and to adopting right methods of procedure, than to cry for a short session and a smaller body, expecting to find in these a cure for present evils. In one respect a Methodist General Conference has a great advantage over those general assemblies of other Churches which elect their own presiding officers. With a bishop in the chair who has an extensive personal acquaintance among the delegates and who has had long experience in presiding over deliberative bodies, who is supported, too, by his colleagues on the platform, it is provided with a presidency that could hardly be excelled. The fault is not in the chair if the body be "unwieldy," nor in the presence of spectators, nor in the mere number of delegates.

Who, then, is the ideal delegate? Not necessarily the man who is oftenest on his feet or he who goes to the Conference with the greatest knowledge of the matters to be presented. The majority in any Conference will do little or no speaking,

except in committee; and very few will have given special study beforehand to one half the subjects upon which they will be called to vote. A member burdened with egotism or enamored of his own eloquence will learn little of a subject during a discussion; and the man of average attainments who listens well to all discussions, both in committee and in open Conference, will be apt to make the best and safest legislator, especially if he be not in too great haste to get home. Let men be chosen who realize that the magnitude of the interests placed in their hands imposes weighty and solemn obligations upon them for their best service. Let the Committee on Entertainment see that a building with good acoustic properties and with comfortable seats be provided. Let all conscientious delegates sit through the four hours' sessions for a month and a day, if need be. And let us hear no more about making the General Conference a small body. This business should not be done in a corner.

J. D. Walsh

Art. IV.—SALVABILITY OF HERETICS.

We should suppose, from the controversies among Protestants over Roman Catholic doctrine, that the Roman Catholic Church was an obscure, shy sect of esoteric teachings, instead of filling Western history back almost to apostolic times and having proclaimed her tenets in a thousand authentic and public documents. It was really amusing some years ago to observe a Presbyterian clergyman communicating, with an air of mysterious astonishment, the results of a private interview with Archbishop Corrigan's secretary, to the effect that his Church allows that a good many Protestants may be saved. We should suppose, from the air of pleased surprise and innocent importance with which he made the announcement, that this opinion had been buried under the pyramids and had just been excavated by him, along with the mummy of Rameses the Great, for the general enlightenment. He seems not to have been aware that no opinion can bind a Catholic conscience unless proclaimed *urbi et orbi*, or unless universally taught in the Church as something essential to the faith. There is, therefore, no room for excavations or mysterious disclosures in the field of Roman Catholic doctrine. Opinions may be entertained more or less widely and with more or less of reserve; but, unless universally published and universally received as of dogmatic obligation, they cannot be enforced upon any Roman Catholic who chooses to deny them. He may be enjoined against publicly contradicting a widely spread opinion which is not of faith, but he cannot be required to profess it. Nor can we be sure that a doctrine is held by Rome to-day because she held it a thousand or fifteen hundred years ago. It is remarked by Dr. Döllinger that Rome, six hundred years back, burned people for teaching papal infallibility, and to-day she excommunicates them for denying it. Even Roman Catholics now very commonly accept Cardinal Newman's theory of development, according to which the general type of doctrine has always been the same in the Catholic Church (as indeed it has), but that this has been very slowly evolved, and, meanwhile, many opinions incompatible with it have long prevailed and often been inconsiderately enforced, as if they were of the faith. Whatever we may say of this theory

in general, in its relations to the infallibility of the Church, it seems not to work amiss as to the salvability of heretics, especially as it would, I think, be difficult to cite any instance of discipline inflicted on a Catholic, ancient or modern, for entertaining a charitable presumption as to the future destiny of pious schismatics whose schism has been inherited and has not originated with them.

As good a starting point as any in our consideration of this matter is Dr. Johann Anton Theiner's work, *Das Seligkeitsdogma der römisch-katholischen Kirche* ("The Roman Catholic Doctrine of Salvability"), published at Breslau in 1847. The names Theiner and Breslau suggest a Roman Catholic origin. However this may be, the work of over six hundred and fifty closely printed octavo pages, crowded with the most accurate learning, breathes from beginning to end the most unrelenting virulence against the Church of Rome. The author's aim is to prove that the Roman Catholic Church has always taught, and still teaches, that from the first Whitsuntide (or, at least, from the fall of the temple) till now no human being, baptized or unbaptized, infant or adult, dying out of visible communion with the see of Peter has ever been, or ever will be, saved. All pretenses to the contrary he declares to have been mere hypocritical appearances, assumed to beguile the unwary and lull them into an unsuspicious benevolence toward Rome, which shall make them easier victims of her proselytizing designs. Now, anyone who will attentively read Dr. Theiner's work will not fail to be persuaded of his ample competency to decide this matter. If he cannot establish his point no one can. Learning and ability being conceded, the only question is one of good faith.

Before considering this, however, let us admit, what everyone knows, that the Catholic Church from the time of her full development, as early as the year 200, has always taught unwaveringly that out of the Church there is no salvation. *Extra ecclesiam nulla salus* is a formula that no Catholic, ancient or modern, Eastern or Western, has ever ventured to contradict, unless he stood prepared to forfeit his Catholic name. The only question has been one of interpretation. We need not concern ourselves much about the Eastern Church. Her ancient writers have been of a milder, and her modern of a narrower,

temper than the Western. Orthodoxy has been her great note, while catholicity has been emphatically embodied in the Church of Rome. With the latter, doctrinal error has been of less account than disobedience. False doctrine, however erroneous, even though it should confound the persons of the Trinity, to use Bellarmine's illustration, is not heresy, so long as the man stands prepared to accept whatever he learns that the Church has authentically defined. The true question, therefore, is with Rome, Can schismatics be saved? It is indifferent whether their schism declares itself in the rejection of an authentic doctrine or in disobedience to a legitimate command of the Church. However, as inward separation from the Church is most unequivocally exhibited in the rejection of defined doctrine, we need not change our title, provided we interpret it as including schismatics even though doctrinally sound, as the Greeks are admitted to be and as some Roman Catholics maintain that a large share of the Anglicans are.

Theiner, who must not be confused with his brother, an eminent Catholic divine, is right in taking Augustine as the decisive authority as to the ancient Catholic doctrine of salvability. However, he raises a strong presumption against the honesty of his attitude toward Augustine by hurling at him the hateful term *Frömmler*, "a pretender to piety," and holding up against him the excesses of his earlier life as a proof that the devout sobriety of his later years was put on for sinister ends. Now, I need not defend the noble sincerity of Augustine's conversion against Theiner or against any other ignoble adversary. Nor need I vindicate his right to that symbol of the flaming heart which the Roman Church, with the marvelous justice of her appreciations of her great saints, has assigned to him. But I mention Theiner's scoffing disparagement as the keynote to the tone of his whole book. It is thoroughly scientific in form and utterly unscientific in fact, having no more moral title to respect than any one of our coarsest and most blundering polemical tracts. This shows that scientific temperance would not establish his contention, and that he resorts to unworthy virulence for this reason. However, he surveys the whole field of the controversy with so ample a sweep of view that we cannot do better than in this respect to follow his lead.

Augustine and the whole Catholic Church of his day doubtless held that outside the pale of baptism justifying grace is not given. A virtuous heathen might not be condemned to torment; although the fathers are by no means so indulgent in this as the schoolmen and the modern Catholic divines. But at all events he would never be admitted into the kingdom of heaven. Yet even here we must make a profoundly important exception. Augustine declares that most of the Christians of his day denied the eternity of future punishment. Nor will he allow them to be called heretics. He commends their compassionateness and is willing to concede that eternal punishments may be from time to time remitted, or even altogether intermitted—an opinion very commonly prevalent throughout the later ages, and one to which the Church seems never to have raised any opposition. However, he insists that Scripture makes it plain that we cannot go farther than this. He and the Church of his day, of course, held that whoever is baptized in the Catholic Church, not being in mortal sin, is forgiven and justified, and, dying in this state, is saved. He also holds that whoever is, with due matter, form, and intent, baptized out of the Catholic Church receives the sacrament, indeed, but not the grace of the sacrament. If, now, he comes into the Church, then, having already the baptismal character, he first receives the baptismal grace. But who are baptized in the Catholic Church? Only those that are baptized by Catholic Christians? Theiner answers for him, "Yes." Augustine answers for himself as follows: "Those who defend their own opinion, however false and perverse, with no pertinacious animosity, especially when they have not engendered it by the audacity of their own presumption, but have received it from lapsed parents led away into error, and seek the truth with cautious solicitude, being prepared to be set right when they have discovered it, are in no way to be reckoned among heretics"—*nequaquam sunt inter hæreticos deputandi.* It follows, then, that all such persons, even though not baptized by Catholics, have been baptized in the Catholic Church and have been made partakers of justifying grace.

To this Theiner, who adduces the passage at length, replies that Augustine wrote it before he was firmly fixed in orthodoxy; that he addresses it to Donatist bishops, whose good

will he wished to gain; that the whole letter shows him to confine it to those who were just ready to come over; and that his whole subsequent life agrees with this last assumption. How far he may have recognized any particular Donatists as exemplifying his principle I cannot say. Men in controversies so intense as this which laid Africa waste seldom show much practical charity. But there his *dictum* is, plain in its terms, received into the canon law, still authoritative in the Church, and certainly lending itself much more easily to a large, than to a narrow, interpretation. Dr. Theiner, however, when Melchior, Bishop of Diepenbrock, about 1850, in a pastoral letter, quotes this declaration of Augustine and its reception into the canon law as a proof that "the Catholic Church accounts as still belonging to her those who, incorporated with her by baptism, remain outwardly estranged from her on earth by reason of innocent error," flies out against him as a hypocritical deceiver endeavoring to mislead the world for the dark designs of his Church. Inasmuch as the pastorals of a Catholic prelate, though not supposed infallible, are of high doctrinal authority for his diocesans unless reversed by Rome—which it appears that this pastoral was not—it follows that Melchior, to deceive Protestants, has set himself to mislead his own people from the faith! It is hard to say whether this imputation is the more odious or the more ridiculous.

How absolutely Theiner in this controversy, for all his learning, is devoid of common honesty, as a man of so virulent a temper of necessity always is, appears from the fact that in this very place—after showing that, with hardly an exception, Catholic divines held baptism, except for martyrs, to be in every conceivable case indispensable for salvation, until St. Bernard and the schoolmen after him allowed that the baptism of desire suffices where that of water cannot be had—he remarks that this has never become a Church doctrine, and that the Council of Trent, Session VII, Canon V (erroneously given IV), *De Baptismo*, declares baptism necessary to salvation. Undoubtedly it does; but in what sense? In the sense that the application of water is always necessary? Then the baptism of blood in martyrdom would be excluded, which Theiner admits that the Church receives. Since, then, we see, even on Theiner's showing, that by calling baptism necessary the Council does not

mean that the external rite is always requisite, the author's appeal to the word *necessarium* is of no force. It does not of itself exclude the baptism of volition. Does the Council, even while not denying this, neglect it? No. In the same session Canon IV, *De Sacramentis in Genere*, reads: "If anyone shall say that the sacraments of the new law are not necessary to salvation, but superfluous, and that without them, *or the earnest desire of them* [*eorum voto*], men, by faith alone, obtain from God the grace of justification, although all are not necessary for everyone, *anathema sit.*" Here the clause which I have emphasized gives the Council's own interpretation of *necessarium*. It instructs us authoritatively that the Church, in declaring baptism necessary for all, the eucharist necessary for all of full age, and penance necessary for all falling into mortal sin after baptism, means that the defect of these sacraments, where inevitable, is supplied by the earnest desire of them—*votum sacramenti*.

It is not true, then, as Theiner affirms, that the baptism of volition, as sufficing where the external rite cannot be had, has not become a Church doctrine. It has been indissolubly connected by the Council of Trent with the baptism of water, as its adequate substitute in case of necessity. Dr. Theiner, of course, is perfectly well aware that it has become a mere commonplace of Roman Catholic theology, alike of learned treatises and of popular catechisms. It may be that the anathema of the Council does not formally strike the denial of it when separated from the whole canon; but neither does an anathema strike the denial of the absolute indissolubility of Christian marriage, which yet the Council of Trent treats as undoubtedly the true Catholic doctrine. Accordingly, the Inquisition at Goa, having learned that a young Frenchman, besides a want of respect to the Holy Office itself, had once denied that the baptism of volition could ever suffice, condemned him to five years in the galleys for this inconsiderate speech. It is true that the King of Portugal annulled the sentence—not, however, as bad theology, but for fear of trouble with France. Indeed, the immaculate conception of Mary is not by any means established on as certain a basis of authority as the baptism of desire. Accordingly, the Roman Catechism, drawn up by direction of Trent and, though not of dogmatic obligation, yet

the true representative of Tridentine theology, instructs the parish clergy that they should see to it that infants are baptized as soon after birth as possible, but that they should delay the baptism of catechumens until they are fully instructed, inasmuch as they, having already the baptism of volition, will not be deprived of eternal life if called out of the world without the external sacrament.

It has been suggested, by some who can hardly bear to admit that the Church of Rome allows the possibility of salvation without external baptism, that, at least, she only extends it to those who die suddenly while they are actually preparing for it. To this it suffices to answer that the Council of Trent makes no such limitation; and it is certain that modern Roman Catholic theology makes none. Thus, the Abbé Huc, traveling from Thibet to China in company with a very foul-mouthed heathen mandarin who died suddenly on the journey, violates no canon of orthodoxy in expressing the hope—confessedly a faint one—that God may have granted him "the baptism of desire" with his parting breath. Huc's book was put on the *Index*, but not for this. This question, whether the unbaptized may be saved, does not immediately bear on the salvability of heretics, since a catechumen is not a heretic. Yet the way was opened for wider and yet wider conceptions of God's redeeming purposes as one wall of exclusion after another fell under the expanding force of the Christian consciousness. When Rome, about the year 250, breasted the whole current of Catholic opinion in Africa and Asia by contending for, and after long controversy carrying through, the position that heretical baptism, rightly administered and intended, was valid, she then, as Dr. Schaff remarks, opened a back door by which the spirit of Christian brotherhood has continually reëntered as often as hierarchical pride has driven it out by the front. Hierarchical pride, or a temper which Protestants cannot distinguish from it, has undoubtedly thus far prevailed in her relations to Christians divided from her, and has shaped her official, and most of her theological, language; but the happy decision of the third century has not allowed her to treat Christians out of communion with her as no Christians. The tone of brotherhood is as yet far from controlling; but it has become, of course with abundant exceptions and relapses, gradually more and more decided, although often in strange contrast

with the literal sense of established formulas; and since, at least, the time of Benedict XIV, who died in 1758, and still more of Clement XIV, who abolished the Maundy Thursday reading of the hateful bull of universal excommunication *In Cœna Domini*, the spirit of brotherhood has gradually invaded even the official declarations of Rome, and—though even here with some very unhappy exceptions—has never been more decided than in the tone of the excellent man who fills the papal chair at present. But I shall revert to this farther on.

Theiner says no more than the truth in remarking that the concession of validity to heretical baptism has often been galling to Catholic arrogance and has provoked strong reactions. Since Nicæa, these must be evasive; and in the form of evasion they show themselves very unpleasantly at present toward Protestantism. It is true, a great part of the Protestants of England and America rebaptize Roman Catholics coming over to them; but this does not excuse Rome for going back from her own principles by allowing so general a rebaptizing, even though *sub conditione*, of converts from Protestanism. She pleads, indeed, that Anglo-Saxon Protestants are so negligent in baptizing that she can never be sure that converts have actually been touched by the sacramental water. Yet this will certainly not apply to Baptists, whom she occasionally receives and whom, like the rest, she rebaptizes provisionally. It seems evident that we have here to deal, not with ritual scrupulousness alone, but with a strong reaction of sectarian exclusiveness. She does not allege the invalidity of our ministry, inasmuch as she receives lay baptism, though ordinarily irregular, as always competent for validity. Were it not that this ungracious usage appears to be mostly restricted to the countries of English speech, and that it still veils itself under the form of hypothetical repetition, there would be danger that this last thin link of visible Christian unity would be altogether snapped. It is true that, since the doctrine of virtual baptism has come up, and, still more, that of implied desire—*votum implicitum*—the results in widening the rent are by no means so disastrous as they would once have been. The widely accepted view now is that loyalty to the mind of Christ, conjoined with true contrition, is divinely imputed in lieu both of a missing sacrament and of the explicit desire for it. In other words, he who means to obey

Christ does obey Christ, virtually, though not expressly. Rome herself has become alarmed, and has encouraged the American bishops to warn their clergy that they incur a suspension from all sacerdotal functions by rebaptizing a Protestant absolutely whom it would have sufficed to rebaptize provisionally, or by baptizing him provisionally when inquiry would have shown that his first baptism was undoubtedly valid. It is to be hoped that this warning will do some good. Yet, when a convert from Protestantism is put up to believe in some trumpery miracle or vision supposed to be given to show him that his first baptism was void, it is evident that the hateful spirit of mere sectarianism is still strong to override one of the fundamental decisions of Rome.

It is fortunate that the instinct of domination itself has come to the aid of Christian fellowship. Rome teaches explicitly that she has no authority over the unbaptized. Heathen, Jews, Moslems, Quakers, and the yet unbaptized children of Baptists and of indifferent persons are all, by her own showings outside her jurisdiction. Accordingly, as Henry C. Lea remarks, while baptized Jews in Spain were never sure of their lives from the jealousies of the Inquisition, unbaptized Jew, went about at their ease. Her right to claim the obedience of Christians she grounds solely on the fact that they are baptized in form and, it is to be presumed, baptized validly. Therefore, however doubtful in the case of individuals, she is obliged, in the interest of her own claims, to admit that the Protestant world, as a whole, is made up of baptized persons. Thus, as Cardinal Manning expresses it, speaking immediately of England, Protestant Christendom must be considered as yet included within the covenant of salvation. Theiner's contention—that by true Catholic doctrine even infants, though as yet incapable of heresy or schism or other mortal sins, must be viewed, if not baptized by Catholics, as having received the bare sacrament, not the grace of the sacrament—is, as we have seen, plainly inconsistent with Augustine's declaration and is wholly opposed to the tenor of modern Roman Catholic theology. The Jesuits, therefore, and Manning in agreement with them, have simply developed Augustine's opinion to its legitimate conclusion, in questioning whether the English people can rightly be called either heretics or schismatics, and in declaring

that a great many of them appear never to have committed a mortal sin and are, therefore, presumably the predestinated heirs of salvation. They also remark that every added generation of Protestant habit, making it harder to apprehend the claims of Rome, augments the probability of good faith and lessens the difficulties of being saved outside the visible limits of Catholicism. These concessions apply more immediately to Anglicanism, but extend in a general way to the whole body of British Protestants and, indeed, of Protestants generally. Cardinal Newman even takes the salvability of Protestants as the fulcrum of an argument against the necessity of the devotion to Mary. If it were necessary, says he, how then could Protestants be saved? The eminent Jesuit Elizalde's powerfully logical work (from the elder point of view) was very ungraciously received by his order and has utterly failed to check this milder way of regarding Protestant nations.

The first step, therefore, toward admitting the salvability of heretics was the admission that heretical baptism, rightly administered—that is, with natural water actually flowing on the face and applied in the name of the Trinity—is valid, however ignorantly or unbelievingly performed, if only there has been an intention "to administer the rite known among Christians by the name of baptism." The second great step was the admission that schismatics by inheritance are not necessarily schismatics or heretics in God's view. The next, coming centuries later, was the establishment of the baptism of desire. All things working toward charity work very slowly. There seems a providential necessity in this, especially in the development of the Christian Church. We know by constant observation that charity is apt to be more or less latitudinarian, and a vigorous grasp on principles more or less intolerant. Now, at the time of Christ the world was full of religions that have utterly failed to approve themselves as capable of becoming universal. The most splendid of all, the Græco-Roman, spoke for all the rest in surrendering its remnant of vital force to the Church. Buddhism has never been able to establish, at most, a higher title for its founder than that of the "light of Asia," meaning, in fact, eastern Asia, where he has, moreover, to divide his prerogatives with three or four other systems. Brahmanism is by its very essence, incapable of existing beyond the sacred soil of India.

Zoroastrianism has declined to a glimmering spark. The rising Church was, therefore, right in recognizing herself as the sole vehicle of communication with God, the only community capable of bringing all mankind into a temporal and eternal fellowship with him and with one another. So long, therefore, as her destiny was not assured, any amount of exclusiveness was better than a flabby good nature toward systems that were only cumbering the ground. It was through her uncompromising firmness in maintaining that only within her own limits could a man be brought into union with God, here and hereafter, that she was saved from disintegration and assured of her final victory. Even in our time Christianity and Christian civilization would be dissolved if the disposition of some Christians were to prevail and all men were to be treated as standing within about the same range of spiritual opportunities, allowing to Christians merely a somewhat more eminent measure of these. All through these ages, however, charitable presumptions have not been lacking, and have seldom or never given umbrage to the Catholic Church. As a Jesuit missionary in Japan said to the Rev. Edward A. Lawrence, "The Church must have her formularies; but God is very much kinder than the Church." It has sufficed for the instinct of self-maintenance that the general and public formula has been, *Extra ecclesiam nulla salus.* This has had a more or less rigorous application from man to man, from country to country, from age to age. It has surely not been an evil thing that it was, on the whole, interpreted most severely in the Middle Ages; for then, between barbarism on the north and east, advancing Islam on the south and southeast, and fundamental heresy in the center, the Christian Church and order of society seemed in danger of vanishing clean out of the earth.

It is time that we should disentangle our minds of fallacious associations engendered in an uncritical time and in the heat of conflict. It is very bad logic to say, "Rome calls us and the Albigenses both heretics; therefore, we both represent one cause." We do nothing of the kind. Scholarship is now unanimous in showing that, with the exception of the Waldenses, and, perhaps, one or two evanescent circles besides, the swarming sects of the Middle Ages before the Great Schism—Albigenses, Bogomiles, Bulgarian heretics, Cathari, or whatever they might be called—were dualists, utterly denying that the world was

created by the supreme God, holding it incurably evil, and teaching that there is no certainty of salvation except in reducing the contact with matter and all ethical activities of society to their lowest terms, and that, therefore, suicide is an eminent Christian virtue. The Church, therefore, was simply maintaining the immutable principles of Christian doctrine and morals by the uncompromising severity of her judgment against all these heresies. It is remarked by Paul Sabatier, in his *Life of St. Francis of Assisi:*

> Some of these movements were for great and sacred causes; but we must not let our sympathies be so moved by the persecutions suffered by heretics as to cloud our judgment. It would have been better had Rome triumphed by gentleness, by education and holiness; but, unhappily, a soldier may not always choose his weapons, and when life is at stake he seizes the first he finds within his reach. The papacy has not always been reactionary and obscurantist; when it overthrew the Cathari, for example, its victory was that of reason and good sense.

Even the Waldenses were tainted with this dualism; and their properly Christian wing, even in those cruel times, was instinctively recognized by the Catholic priesthood as its auxiliary in the contest with the Cathari. As Archbishop Trench remarks, the Waldenses alone, of all the multitudinous sects of the Middle Ages, survived persecution, because they alone deserved to survive.

After the reconciliation of the Great Schism, which was purely a question of papal title, and in which it is acknowledged that men and women of equal sanctity and soundness are found on either side, there remained only three notable heresies—two originating during the schism—the Waldenses, the Lollards, and the Hussites. The Waldenses were hardly regarded as fully heretical. The Council of Basel even ordained two bishops for them. The Lollards were nearly extinct. The Hussites, in their prevailing Utraquist form, were finally reconciled to the Church, as a body peculiarly privileged and, as I judge, without being required to accept the condemnation of Huss. Indeed, even now there are Catholic churches of Bohemia in which his picture hangs up as that of a saint. The Taborite wing, putting off their warlike fierceness, issued in the elder Moravian Church and attracted little attention outside of their own country. Heresy and schism having, therefore, for a while

almost disappeared, it is probable that the abstract question, Can schismatics and heretics be saved? was but little agitated.

It is probably a memorial of this more tranquil frame of mind, not yet disturbed by the rising commotions in Germany, that we possess in a theological treatise, published at Milan in 1520, on the nature of justifying faith. I have never seen it and do not recall the name of the author; but his position appears to be about this: The faith that justifies must always and everywhere have been the same thing—namely, an entire and self-surrendering confidence in the righteous goodness of God. Whatever state of ignorance, therefore, still leaves motives that induce such a confidence is consistent with the salvation of those who live under it. The dissertation appears to have given no offense, nor, indeed, to have received much notice of any kind, although it is possible that it may have helped to develop the views of which the Jesuits ultimately became the chief representatives.

Now came the mighty schism of the Reformation, which, to the Catholic consciousness, appeared as a breaking loose of all the forces of hell. For eighty years the defection spread more and more widely. Until the year 1600, therefore, it still appeared to Catholics as a fresh movement to be conscientiously repressed. By that time, however, a great part of the Protestants were such by an inheritance of several generations; yet to the Catholic mind the character of personal complicity in heresy and schism was reflected upon them from their fresher confederates, and the question of salvability, whenever raised, was promptly answered in the negative. The continental Protestants, on the other hand, Lutherans and even Calvinists, appear to have commonly agreed with Luther that "many and mighty saints have remained under the pope." But in Britain they were less tolerant. Knox and the Presbyterians were thrown into convulsions of anger at a timid suggestion that, perhaps, an occasional child of God might be found even among the papists. Richard Hooker very nearly fell into disgrace by suggesting that, at least before the Reformation, some of their ancestors might, perhaps, have been saved. He made his peace, however, by modifying his thesis to this effect—that, at least, there was more hope for them than for the Lutherans. The Catholics roared out, "Burn the Protestant heretics!" The Protestants

bellowed back, "Cut down the popish idolaters!" The Jesuit Mariana applauded the assassin of Henry III of France. Theodore Beza applauded the assassin of the Duke of Guise. Philip Melanchthon prayed that God would raise up an assassin to cut down Henry VIII of England. John Knox pronounced the murder of David Rizzio a godly deed. Reason and conscience, manners and morals, and, above all, primal humanity, appeared on the point of all going to wreck together. At last the tide of Protestant advance was stayed, and Rome, by fair means and foul, even recovered half of wasted Germany. The peace of Westphalia, signed in 1648, assured the desolated world that the hour of international religious aggressions was past. The treaty was celebrated by the Capuchins from the pulpits of Vienna as a noble and holy work, and received by the Jesuits with deep disgust.

Yet, curiously enough, it was the Jesuits, rather than the Capuchins, who soon became the champions of opinions which represented it as a matter of comparatively little consequence whether a man were Catholic or Protestant. Dr. Theiner notices, though with evident disrelish, the fact that, from about 1650 or 1670, a good many of the Jesuits have championed the salvability of Protestants. This fact unquestionably runs sadly athwart his purpose of demonstrating that Roman Catholicism denies this, for the Jesuits were then commonly regarded in theology, as in everything else, as being the very flower of Catholicism. Pascal had already dealt his deadly blow; but its withering force was not yet fully disclosed. It is true that the Holy See soon began to condemn a great many moral propositions of the Jesuit writers, but, I believe, not one doctrinal proposition, certainly not one bearing favorably on the salvation of Protestants.* Dr. Theiner, therefore, finds himself in some embarrassment. He is fain to resort to his favorite weapon, and hurls against the Jesuits a charge of hypocrisy. Their doctrine of probabilism, he declares, and with good warrant, allows them to teach almost anything that they like; and, therefore, where they find their account in it they teach that Protestants may be saved, and, where they do not, that they will surely be damned.

Undoubtedly the Jesuits have, times innumerable, varied their

*Subsequent reading shows me one such condemnation. See footnote on p. 734.

teachings according to their interests. No society has ever existed that exemplified so many forms of simulation and dissimulation, practical and theoretical. There can be no doubt, however, that as a whole they have been immovably, even fanatically, devoted to the doctrine of probabilism and have stood unflinchingly for it, even when it made against them. Partisanship here has been too strong for policy, as it has many a time been in the history of the order. It was not in the interest of any negotiation with Protestants that a French Jesuit of the seventeenth century contended that a Protestant who holds his own religion probable, but Catholicism more probable, is excused from turning Catholic till he comes to die; and it was not to please the Huguenots, but to drive their associate into greater self-consistency, that his brethren declared that such a Protestant does not prejudice his salvation by dying, as well as living, in his own religion.* Indeed, so far as the Jesuits dissembled at all, they seem rather to have dissembled the other way. Thus, the French Jesuit, mentioned by Döllinger and Reusch, who had been a missionary in England does not appear to have used any such indulgent formulas there; but on returning to France he assures his fellow Catholics, as I have mentioned, that great numbers of the English, though zealous Protestants, are really neither heretics nor schismatics, and declares that, of the many converts he and other priests had received, a large number were still in a state of baptismal grace and, of course, needed no absolution, but, even had they died in the Church of England, would infallibly have been saved.

But this is a little thing compared with what we find from their private correspondence, much of which was seized and published at the dissolution of the order. This correspondence gives their ideas as expressed among themselves. Thus, we find Father La Quintinye writing in 1666 from France to Oliva, the general of the order, at Rome, complaining bitterly of the length to which his brethren went in their indulgent presumptions regarding the heretics. It might, he intimates, perhaps be endured that a charitable hope should be held out to the lay heretic in an heretical country, visited but dimly by the light of Catholic truth; but his brethren, he declares, in their private conferences were not content with this. They insisted that it

* This assertion had been condemned by Innocent XI.

was possible and, indeed, was of actual occurrence that Protestants brought up in France itself, surrounded from infancy by the bright light of Catholic faith, might yet grow up justified children of God. Even here, says he (I give the substance, not the words), we can imagine a layman so ignorant and simple, and sometimes so shut up in heretical companionship, that such a presumption, by a violent stretch of charity, might be suffered to pass. But my Jesuit brethren think even this a little thing. They affirm that even a Calvinistic minister, and one of eminent parts, of wide reading, and much experience of controversy, may, in Catholic France, occupy "the chair of pestilence" for many years without ever losing baptismal grace, so that, if at last by God's favor he comes into the true Church, his confessor cannot absolve him, because, having heard from him a confession of his whole life, he can find nothing in him to absolve. To this bitter complaint of the worthy La Quintinye, along with many much better-grounded complaints, Oliva dryly replies that he has heard how intractable he is among his brethren, and expects him to be of one mind with them, but, if not, at least to keep his dissentient opinions to himself.

Here we find that the theory of hypocrisy will not work at all. In the first place, this good opinion of Protestant sanctity does not rest on the doubtful and exceptionable doctrine of probabilism, but on the undoubted and unexceptionable doctrine of invincible ignorance. Next, we find that it becomes more emphatic in proportion as it is more completely secluded within the inner circles of Jesuitism itself. The Jesuits, we see, extol possible and actual Protestant piety much more unreservedly where no Protestant can hear. And it is not they that have disclosed this to us, but their enemies. Next, we find that the head of the order, an Italian, not a Frenchman, living in Rome itself, not in Paris, finds this way of thinking entirely unexceptionable and scolds his subordinate for not being willing to share it. In like manner, when the Jansenist cardinal Le Camus requested the Jesuits in his diocese of Grenoble to aid him in working for the conversion of Protestants, they excused themselves with the careless remark, "*Quand on croira en Jésus-Christ, on se sauve partout*"—"If one only believes in Jesus Christ he will be saved in any Church."

If, then, we must, as good Protestants, accuse the Jesuits of dissembling in this matter, it is plain that we shall have to reverse Dr. Theiner's indictment, and accuse them of concealing from the Protestants the high hopes which they really cherished of their salvation. This accusation, too, would be unjust, but less glaringly so than the other. In truth, the Jesuits made no special mystery of their opinions, either in France or in Italy. When they were accused to the Inquisition at Naples of teaching that many heretics, and even many heathen, would probably be saved, they appear to have taken no pains to reply, and the Inquisition no pains to investigate. A Jesuit at Antwerp, being appointed to attend a Protestant soldier condemned to be shot for some breach of discipline, required of him no retractation of Protestantism, but simply assisted him to recite various prayers expressive of faith and love, read aloud to him the seventeenth chapter of John, and after his death solicited the prayers of the faithful for him as presumably one of the holy souls in purgatory. This gave great scandal to the Jansenists, but seems to have been wholly acceptable to the Jesuits.

The pious and illustrious Innocent XI highly appreciated the noble qualities of Jansenism and cordially disliked the Jesuits, many of whose moral propositions he condemned; and he even contemplated abolishing the order, as Clement XIV actually did. He probably shared the sterner views of his Jansenist friends as to the difficulty of being saved out of the visible communion with Rome. Yet he appears never to have raised any objection to the Jesuit teachings in this direction.* Nor does the heroic Jesuit general Gonzalez, who really fell a martyr to the stress of his efforts to uproot probabilism, appear to have tried to debar his brethren of their liberty to a large presumption of charity in favor of the salvation of heretics. Thus encouraged, the Jesuits, in 1713, induced the Church to take the first formal step toward pronouncing that heretics may be saved. They slipped into the list of the one hundred and one condemnations found in the odious constitution *Unigenitus* a condemnation of this proposition: "Grace is not given out of the Church." This, though little noticed at the time, was really the beginning of an essentially new attitude of the Roman Catholic Church toward Christians standing aloof from her.

* With the one exception noted above.

and ultimately toward mankind at large. The best thing that could be done for Clement XI would be to forget the odiousness of the rest of the *Unigenitus* and to remember that he condemned the proposition that grace is not given out of the Church.

It was a good while before the full effects of this new position of Rome were apprehended, although it was not so much a reversal, as a more explicit development, of earlier teachings. Prosper Lambertini, afterward the eminent Benedict XIV, held that God, in the order of nature, may develop virtues in the heathen which shall essentially affect their future condition for good, but will not suffice to bring them to the beatific vision. For a long while many, even of the Jesuits themselves, would not go so far as to say that the grace of final salvation was granted out of the Church. Archbishop Carroll, who had been a Jesuit, had a pretty keen controversy with a fellow Jesuit who still insisted against Carroll that visible communion with Rome is always necessary to salvation. Even lately, the Paulist Alfred Young has found it necessary, in controversy with a New York Redemptorist, to contend for the Catholic proposition, "A Protestant is capable of making an act of saving faith." The late Dr. Schaff, however, appears to stop short of the actually prevailing interpretation of the clause of the *Unigenitus* above quoted, explaining it as meaning that grace may be given out of the Church, but not the grace of salvation. That was hardly the position, even of Benedict XIV, as applied to the dissentient Christians, and very certainly is not the present position of the papacy, as I shall presently show. The Rev. E. S. Ffoulkes, who was for several years a Roman Catholic, remarks that it is contrary to the mind of Rome to make any restriction, reservation, or explanation whatever of her affirmation that grace may be given out of the Church. To say, then, that the grace of regeneration may be given, but not the grace of sanctification, or the grace fo sanctification, but not the grace of final perseverance, appears to be a distinct evasion of the position of Clement XI. Moreover, it contradicts the fundamental doctrine of the Roman Church, which, like every Christian Church worthy the name, teaches that God never bestows a grace except with the purpose of making it, unless frustrated by the perverseness of men, introductory to a greater grace, and so on to perfection.

Clement XI negatively pronounced for salvability out of the Church. But Pius IX, as remarked by Cardinal Newman, appears to be the first pope who publicly and officially proclaimed the salvability of heretics in its positive form. His encyclical to the bishops of Italy, dated August 10, 1863, declares:

> We and you know that those who lie under invincible ignorance as regards our most holy religion and who, diligently observing the natural law and its precepts which are engraven by God on the hearts of all, and, prepared to obey God, lead a good and upright life, are able, by the operation of the power of divine light and grace, to obtain eternal life.

In an earlier allocution Pius instructed the faithful that prejudice against Catholicism, in a pious and upright man, is not necessarily to be imputed as sinfulness. How easy it is, he observes, to come early under an invincible bias of education which will never permit a man, however honest, to apprehend the Catholic religion in its true light! It will be observed that this official declaration of Pius IX goes much farther than to pronounce heretics salvable. It evidently applies also to Jews, Moslems, and pagans if they be pure in mind, lovers of truth, and lovers of God. And this is now undoubtedly the prevailing opinion in the Roman Catholic Church, being a point as to which the Jesuits and their enemies are entirely agreed, as Dr. Döllinger remarks. The Jesuits, however, appear to be content to let the papal declarations work gradually and to tolerate members, even in their own body, who refuse as yet to receive their full force.

Some one has expressed wonder that Pius IX should be quoted in favor of the salvability of heretics when he is known to have been so hostile to liberal Catholicism. But there his words are, explicit, authentic, official, authoritative. Nor is there any difficulty in the case. Who have been the great enemies of liberal Catholicism? The Jesuits. And who have been the great champions of the salvability of heretics? Again, the Jesuits. There is not the least inconsistency in this. Because a man believes that many heretics, and even many heathen, will probably be saved, there is no reason why he may not be hostile to civil progress, to education, to religious liberty, to the independence of the State, to all other Churches than his own. God, he might say, may save many souls, notwithstanding these evil things; how many more, then, if the evil could be

entirely swept away? The Jansenists were much more the friends of enlightenment and of civil progress than the Jesuits; yet they confined the elect strictly within the visible limits of the Catholic Church. Pius IX was too benevolent a man not to have large hopes of the saving mercies of God; but he was too narrow-minded a man to reconcile himself with the modern age. He cordially detested its abounding evils, and hardly less cordially its new forms of higher good. As remarked by Dr. Roswell D. Hitchcock, his famous encyclical and syllabus are curiously divided, about half and half, between condemnations of flagrant evils, and of precious benefits, of modern civilization.

In what way can the old formula, "Out of the Church no salvation," be reconciled with the new formula, "A devout heretic may be saved?" There seem to be two ways. One is to use the word "Protestant" in two senses. Protestantism, to Catholic apprehension, means the spirit of rebellion against the legitimate authority of the Church. A genuine Protestant, therefore, cannot be saved. Or "Protestant" simply means one who is devoted to his ancestral religion, not because of its rebelliousness, but because of its Christianity. Such a one is, in the view of God, simply a Roman Catholic Christian unhappily circumstanced. No one can be saved unless he follows the Roman Catholic religion; but he may, by invincible error, call by a hostile name that which the divine judgment accepts as true Catholic piety. He will not, it is held, be saved simply by good faith in his heresy. There must be added to this actual faith and love. Therefore, one catechism might teach that a Protestant can be saved, and another that he cannot be, without any contradiction between them. These distinctions, as we know, are familiar even to illiterate Catholics. Thus, when Bishop Wilberforce's Irish coachman declared that his lordship would be saved "on account of his inconsavable ignorance," he showed that he had been well taught in his religion, although he was somewhat more severe in his choice of an adjective than he intended to be. Thus, also, when Cardinal Gibbons declares that whoever is not with the pope is not with Christ, his meaning, as the *Independent* well says, is by no means so truculent as his words. His book, *The Faith of our Fathers*, unequivocally acknowledges as a justified Christian everyone who receives the evangelical message with faith

and love, however ignorant of Christ's full will. The more direct way is to distinguish between the soul of the Church and her body. Thus, the highly authoritative catechism of the Jesuit Deharbe says, "Such as are heretics without their own fault, but sincerely search after the truth, and in the meantime do the will of God to the best of their knowledge, although they are separated from the body, remain, however, united to the soul of the Church and partake of her graces;" though, of course, they are regarded as suffering many grievous spiritual privations.

Of course, the presumption as to the greater or less number of God's elect children outside the visible limits of the Catholic Church will be greater or less from man to man, according to temper or the measure of familiarity with Protestants. No doubt there are whole regions of the Church where Protestants are practically regarded as, one and all, children of perdition. Indeed, Orestes A. Brownson, complaining of Lady Georgiana Fullerton, that in her stories she assumes all religious Protestants to be virtually Catholics, insists that every particular Protestant ought always to be regarded as out of a state of salvation. He may indeed, says Brownson, be known to God as a member of the Catholic Church; but this ought never to be assumed. The prevailing tone of feeling in instructed Catholic circles seems to be between these extremes, but decidedly and increasingly inclining rather to Lady Georgiana than to Orestes A. Brownson.

Charles C. Starbuck

Art. V.—JOHN WOOLMAN AND STEPHEN GIRARD—A STUDY IN COMPARATIVE BIOGRAPHY.

In the year 1681, sixty-one years after the landing of the Pilgrims and seven years prior to the English Revolution, a deputy surveyor of the province of West New Jersey, North America, made to the council of proprietors a report containing this statement: "Surveyed one parcel of land abutting on Rancocas Creek, within which tract of land is a mountain, to which the province, east, west, south, and north, sends a beautiful aspect, named by the owner thereof Mount Holly." At the base of this "mountain," which, in fact, is only a modest hill two hundred feet high, and on the banks of the Rancocas there arose in due time a town, to which was also given the name of Mount Holly. The history of the place during a period of two hundred years, from the days of its life as "a good-sized hamlet" in 1750, through the French and Indian War, the Revolution, the War of 1812, the Mexican War, and the Rebellion, to this last decade of the nineteenth century, in which it reports itself as a "thriving city of sixty-five hundred inhabitants," would, no doubt, prove of interest. But it is not of Mount Holly itself that I write, though the theme is attractive. I write of two men whose names appear in the category of the world's distinguished philanthropists, one of whom was born in or near the village, and the other of whom resided there for a year during the British supremacy in Philadelphia — John Woolman, tailor, nurseryman, Quaker preacher, social reformer; and Stephen Girard, mariner, merchant, millionaire. Each of these transacted business in the streets of Mount Holly.

Almost all memorial of Woolman has disappeared. The "small, plain, two-story structure, with two windows in each story in front," was long ago destroyed. The store in which he began his career as an antislavery agitator has been either removed or remodeled, so that its identity has been lost. No portrait of him was ever painted, no statue ever carved. There are no monuments to his memory, no institutions whose existence is due to his foresight or wealth. And yet John G. Whittier says, "A far-reaching moral, social, and political revolution, undoing the evil work of centuries, unquestionably

owes much of its original impulse to the life and labors of a poor, unlearned workingman of New Jersey, whose very existence was scarcely known beyond the narrow circle of his religious society." In language of sweet simplicity and beautiful *naïveté* he wrote a *Journal* and, dying in the city of York, England, bequeathed it to the sect with which his ministry had been identified. He did not know that in the inventory of the world's spiritual and literary resources it would be classed among the most valuable of its assets. Mount Holly loyally regards John Woolman as her greatest citizen, the one worthiest of reverence.

Stephen Girard, contemporary of Woolman for more than twenty-two years, is a far more familiar figure in the history of the United States and of Christendom. Of Girard there are memorials, unique and splendid; and in Mount Holly the house in which he lived may still be pointed out, and his store, though incorporated in a larger building, is yet identifiable. Portraits have been engraved, a statue has been erected, and in Philadelphia there stands, unsurpassed among modern reproductions of Greek architecture, the Girard College for Orphans. For half a century this institution has fulfilled its high purpose of educating boys—for this life. Thither thousands of visitors go every year to see its splendid buildings, its beautiful grounds, and the beneficiaries of the colossal bequest of the French cabin boy who, poor, uneducated, almost friendless, sailed away from Bordeaux to the West Indies and died an honored citizen of the United States, a multimillionaire at a time when millionaires were few.

It were easy to debate the question, "Who was the world's greater benefactor, John Woolman or Stephen Girard?" and good argument may be adduced to prove that the banker whose loans—at interest—saved the credit, if not the very life, of the United States in 1814, whose immense contributions to the city treasury of Philadelphia made many great public improvements possible, whose gifts to charitable institutions and churches sustained their life during critical emergencies, and whose beneficence created a great institution for the benefit of orphaned boys was a greater philanthropist, a nobler benefactor, a truer friend of humanity than a mere Quaker preacher, by trade a tailor, whose vocation was only that of a traveling evangelist in a minor religious sect, bearing his testimony against

slavery and other social evils and writing a few pamphlets and a journal of a few score pages. Judged by manifest achievement, the products of Girard's philanthropy are far beyond those of Woolman's. But, whatever the merit due to deeds of charity, whatever the place of almsgiving in the economy of personal salvation, and whatever the degree of honor and admiration to be ascribed to him who gives or bequeaths the harvest of his successful ventures in business to his fellow-mortals in need, I am confident that there are such distinctions in the spirit in which philanthropists render service, such inherent differences in quality of character, that one who does less than another may be far greater and more fully realize the ideals of life than he whose gifts are known in all the crowded streets and glorified through all the passing centuries. Though Woolman's name is overshadowed by that of Girard, it stands for a better type of manhood, a more genial spirit of life, a sweeter heart, a truer solution of the complex problem of existence. And so in this study of comparative biography, gauging Girard's life according to the standard of Woolman's character and conduct, I pronounce Woolman to be the better man, and his life, considered in itself, a better life—better in its impulses and ideals, better in its immediate and ultimate relations and results.

Without attempting an analysis of the facts of heredity—that push under the effect of which life is begun, if not carried on, in this world—there are facts of ancestry which ought to be studied in comparing any two men and pronouncing equitable judgment upon their careers. Woolman's life was begun under the influence of parents who fulfilled the duties of their relation. Perhaps the boy was prematurely, certainly precociously, pious. At seven years of age he was acquainted, as he says, "with the operations of divine love." He remembered leaving the society of his schoolmates to read a chapter from his New Testament. On "first days," after the meeting, his parents used frequently to "set" him to read the Bible or other religious books. Still, he was a boy, and on at least one occasion was borne away by the stone-throwing instincts that characterize the "savage period" through which most boys pass in the evolution of normal manhood, and was guilty of killing a mother robin. Smitten with remorse and wishing to obviate all ill consequence to the young birds in the nest, he promptly annihilated the whole

brood. He was once disrespectful in speech to his mother. He even drifted or was drawn into "wanton company," and, though never guilty of serious sin, became indifferent to the requirements of a Christain life and bade fair—or foul—to become as giddy as any of the young folks who lived in Mount Holly in the early years of the eighteenth century. But he was not satisfied with the "mirth and wantonness" of this society, and before he had attained his majority had begun that positive religious life which afterward became more and more intense until the end.

Girard was born in France in 1750, of parents who seem to have discriminated against him, denying him the opportunities of education granted to their other children. Losing in boyhood the sight of his right eye, he became bitter and cynical under his misfortunes and shipped to the West Indies as a cabin boy. Returning home, he was so frigidly received that he sailed away and never again saw France. Locating in Philadelphia in 1769—the same year in which Woolman's mind was being "exercised" for his fellow-creatures in the West Indies and disturbed by recollections of having sold rum, sugar, and molasses in the store at Mount Holly—Girard established himself in business on Water street, but made, also, several voyages between the West Indies, New York, and Philadelphia. At the beginning of the Revolution he opened a grocery and cider-bottling establishment. Having no compunctions of conscience in regard to the sale of intoxicating drinks, he further engaged in the liquor traffic, making large profits on contracts with the Continental army. In 1780 he resumed trade with the Indies, and in 1782 leased a range of stores which, to his own advantage, he sublet. Here is a man with Midas's fingers; everything becomes gold. All winds waft him on to wealth.

So, too, Woolman seems a favorite of the god of riches. He "had begun with selling trimmings for garments, and from thence proceeded to sell cloths and linens." His trade increased year by year, thrifty Quaker that he was, among Quakers who were loyal to a brother in business. But Woolman says:

> I felt a stop in my mind. . . . The increase of business became my burden; for, though my natural inclination was toward merchandise, yet I believed that truth required me to live more free from outward cumbers,

and there was now a strife in my mind between the two. Then I lessened my outward business and as I had opportunity told my customers of my intentions, that they might consider what shop to turn to; and in a while I wholly laid down my merchandise and followed my trade as a tailor by myself, having no apprentice.

Woolman did not condemn the mercantile life in itself. He admitted that it might be free from secularizing effect if lived in a pure spirit; but for himself it had become inconsistent with that ideal which he had gradually formed. He wished to read, to think, to meet men in their homes and "meeting houses," to discuss high themes of duty, to bear free testimony against social evils, and to extirpate them in a spirit of fearlessness and charity. Deliberately, therefore, he withdrew from business and limited himself to his handicraft and to collateral occupations as a scrivener and gardener.

Girard could neither imitate such an act nor understand the ethical impulses that prompted it. Perhaps it was not necessary that he should imitate it; perhaps it was his vocation to buy and sell, as it was that of Samuel Budgett, of Bristol, England. But it was essential to Woolman's peace of mind and joy of heart that he should cherish a higher purpose than that of mercantile life for its own sake or as a means of excluding thought of other duty and other pleasure. He resolved to be master of his own life work, while Girard resolved to intoxicate himself with labor. Woolman said: "To labor hard, or cause others to do so, that we may live conformably to customs which Christ, our Redeemer, discountenanced by his example in the days of his flesh and which are contrary to divine order, is to manure a soil for propagating an evil seed in the earth." Girard said: "I work like a galley slave. I have no higher ambition than to labor. When I rise in the morning my only effort is to labor so hard during the day that when the night comes I may be enabled to sleep soundly." Contrasted with the serene life of Woolman, the life of Girard was a mistake and a failure, because Girard willfully refused to accept the methods instituted by God for the perfecting of heart and mind. As in his business life, so in his home life, Girard excluded God. For many years his wife was insane. He attempted to conceal the fact; but people talked, and Girard was compelled to commit her to an asylum. There a babe was

born and died. At last the mother and wife sank into the grave, and Girard, disciple of Voltaire and Rousseau, stumbled on into the starless night of skepticism bitterer than ever.

Woolman's family life was unshadowed, unless by his own long absences on his journeys, or those periods of depression when he was waiting for his "voices" to summon him forth on his mission against slavery. For that was his especial mission—to testify against slavery. He had known no other society than that of which negro slavery was an element; but his moral instincts led him aright, and on a memorable occasion in the shop at Mount Holly he uttered his first modest protest against traffic in human life. He writes:

> My employer, having a negro woman, sold her and desired me to write a bill of sale, the man being waiting who bought her. The thing was sudden; and, though I felt uneasy at the thoughts of writing an instrument of slavery for one of my fellow-creatures, yet I remembered that I was hired by the year, that it was my master who directed me to do it, and that it was an elderly man, a member of our society, who bought her. So, through weakness, I gave way and wrote it; but at the executing of it I was so afflicted in my mind that I said, before my master and the Friend, that I believed slave-keeping to be a practice inconsistent with the Christian religion.

This was in 1742. Woolman was then only twenty-two years old. Whittier says that this event, "simple and inconsiderable in itself, was made the instrumentality of exerting a mighty influence upon slavery in the Society of Friends." It was the beginning of a unique career of agitation, so different from that of later abolitionists that its methods of disseminating unpopular opinions and creating a public sentiment in their favor are well worth study and imitation. Of course, slavery was not then the powerful institution that it subsequently became; but Woolman pronounced it wrong and accepted the task of testifying against it in public and in private, in the meeting house and in the mansion. In the parlors and dining rooms of the planters themselves he quietly uttered his protest against slave labor. Referring to one of his itineraries among the "meetings," he says:

> My mind was deeply engaged in this visit, both in public and private; and at several places where I was, on observing that they had slaves, I found myself under a necessity, in a friendly way, to labor with them on

that subject, expressing, as way opened, the inconsistency of that practice with the purity of the Christian religion and the ill effects of it manifested amongst us.

"In a friendly way"—that was the key to his method. He acquired the art of antagonizing evils without exciting hostility. He was neither ostracized nor mobbed, though never a popular person.

Girard did not consider it his vocation to denounce the evils of the social system—much less to refuse to profit by the unrequited slave labor of the West Indian islands or of the slave colonies and slave States. He was not as scrupulously honest as Woolman. It is definitely alleged that he would not pay a debt if it were possible to avoid it. He was not ashamed to repudiate it if repudiation could be technically justified in the name of "law." In contrast with such a spirit is the scrupulous integrity of the "eccentric" Woolman, as exhibited in a transaction of which he makes the following record in his *Journal:*

As persons setting negroes free in our province are bound by law to maintain them in case they have need of relief, some in the time of my youth, who scrupled to keep slaves for [the whole] term of life, were wont to detain their young negroes in their service without wages till they were thirty years of age. With this custom I so far agreed that, being joined with another Friend in executing the will of a deceased Friend, I once sold a negro lad till he might attain the age of thirty years and applied the money to the use of the estate. With abasement of heart I may now say that sometimes, as I have sat in a meeting with my heart exercised toward that awful Being who respecteth not persons nor colors and have thought upon this lad, I have felt that all was not clear in my mind concerning him; and, as I have attended to this exercise and fervently sought the Lord, it hath appeared to me that I should make some restitution. . . . I executed a bond binding myself and my executors to pay to the man to whom he was sold what, to candid men, might appear equitable for the last four and a half years of his time, in case the said youth should be living and in a condition likely to provide comfortably for himself.

Girard and others would pronounce this an eccentricity or extreme of virtue. But in this eccentricity of virtue lay the merit of Woolman's conduct. I am told by some that he was unbalanced—a moral monomaniac! But of such is the kingdom of God.

In deciding upon his behavior he was sometimes in long-continued perplexity, and his conclusions were reached only

after the most careful deliberation and earnest prayer; but in one instance his mind was influenced and his decision determined by a dream, or vision. He writes:

I was brought so near the gates of death that I forgot my name. Being then desirous to know who I was, I saw a mass of matter of a dull, gloomy color between the south and the east, and was informed that this mass was human beings in as great misery as they could be and live, and that I was mixed with them, and that henceforth I might not consider myself as a distinct or separate being. In this state I remained several hours. I then heard a soft, melodious voice, more pure and harmonious than any I had heard with my ears before. I believed it was the voice of an angel who spake to the other angels; the words were, "John Woolman is dead!" I soon remembered that I was once John Woolman, and, being assured that I was alive in the body, I greatly wondered what that heavenly voice could mean. . . . I was then carried in spirit to the mines, where poor, oppressed people were digging rich treasures for those called Christians, and heard them blaspheme the name of Christ, at which I was grieved, for his name to me was precious.

Recovering his health of body and emerging from this state of trance—akin to that exaltation to paradise of which St. Paul writes—he saw, as he says, that the use of silver vessels was stained with pride and that he should not conform to those social customs which required their presence upon the table. With all this conscientiousness and accumulation of scruples, he must have been an unwelcome guest had he not possessed the charm of an unusual humility. He did not regard himself an authoritative censor of morals and manners—only a man who aspired to a scrupulous and unspotted purity. He did not shrink, however, from the hard task of arraigning evildoers. Lotteries, luxuries, foolish fashions of dress, the traffic in intoxicating drinks, theatrical performances, the money mania—all these he antagonized, not with the fierceness and theatricality of his contemporary, Benjamin Lay, but with impressive mingling of gentleness of manner and positiveness of conviction.

At last, after a tour among Indian tribes in this country, he felt moved to visit England. For four months he exercised his ministry in the places sanctified by memories of the founders of Quakerism, and, having reached York, fell ill. During his sickness he uttered these words of communing with God:

O Lord, my God! the amazing horrors of darkness were gathered around me and covered me all over, and I saw no way to go forth. I felt the

depth and extent of the misery of my fellow-creatures separated from the divine harmony, and it was heavier than I could bear, and I was crushed under it. I lifted up my hand, I stretched out my arm, but there was none to help me; I looked round about and was amazed. In the depths of my misery, O Lord, I remembered that thou art omnipotent, that I had called thee Father, and I felt that I loved thee, and I was made quiet in my will, and I waited for deliverance from thee. Thou hadst pity upon me when no man could help me. I saw that meekness under suffering was showed to us in the most affecting example of thy Son, and thou taught me to follow him, and I said, "Thy will, O Father, be done!"

And so the will of the Father was done; he entered into the larger life October 5, 1772.

To Stephen Girard, as to Woolman, the end—or the beginning—came at last. He had toiled on through a tortuous course of harassing public and private affairs, had held to his oars like a wretched galley slave, was worn out with ceaseless cares, exhausted of nerve force until he succumbed to insomnia, disgusted even with money-making, anxious only to occupy himself with business. There were rifts in the clouds, and an occasional gleam of optimism shot through the rifts. He served his city well during the dreadful days of the plague, flinging himself into danger without fear and, perhaps, with the secret wish that death might come and end his impoverished life. He died; and the Quaker City decreed him a public funeral. Over the dust of the French infidel, the miser, the inhospitable cynic, rises his monument—the majestic college. The story of his life, whatever its value, has no inspiration for the two-worldly or other-worldly man—for him who would attain the true peace and completeness of living. To write Woolman's *Journal* and live Woolman's life would be greater honor than to gather millions of money at the price of peace and of fellowship with the best men of the ages.

On Thursday, August 16, 1894, as I rode through the streets of Mount Holly, the door of the old Friends' meeting house, built in 1775, stood open. It was "fifth day," and meeting was to be held. Before noon of that day I stood at the gates of Girard College, and was given a card containing an extract from the will of Stephen Girard prohibiting the admission of any "ecclesiastic, missionary, or minister of any sect whatsoever, . . . for any purpose, or as a visitor." Because the hands of William T. Harris and Stephen M. Merrill had once been im-

posed upon my head in ordination I was not permitted to pass the lodge. Had I sat in the lowly brick meeting house, unadorned and obscure, I would have been in fellowship with the spirits of just men made perfect and with the Spirit of God. Had I entered the halls of Girard College I should have been impressed by majesty of architecture and grandeur of wealth; but, beyond and beneath, I would have had visions of a sorrow-smitten, pessimistic, cynical infidel. He has often been styled a philanthropist. I fancy he would sneer at the title. Woolman would decline it, too; but in his heart he loved God, and in his heart he loved all his fellow-men.

G. M. Hammell.

Art. VI.—SOCIAL AND ETHICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF INDIVIDUAL WEALTH.

Is a man really culpable of moral misdemeanor if he becomes very wealthy? In other words, is it wicked to get rich? A certain number of persons seem disposed to answer these questions in the affirmative. The theory is not a new one; but of late it has taken a more definite form and is, therefore, more influential. It is not the sole object of this paper to refute the doctrine or to convert the believers in it from the error of their ways; but, since a vague feeling prevails more or less widely that there is not only an unequal, but an unjust, distribution of wealth, it is desirable to get a clearer conception of the good and evil involved in the actual conditions. Let us examine the grounds of the conviction that large accumulations by a limited number of the members of a community, while others are only moderately provided for and still others are miserably poor, are intrinsically vicious.

The main assumption appears to be that only a certain amount of wealth can be created, and only so much as can be produced by manual labor. Even if this were so there would still be inequalities; for manual laborers differ widely in their powers of production, one man's ability in this respect being three, five, or, perhaps, ten times as great as that of another. It is true that these are usually ranked as skilled laborers; but skilled labor, in its proper sense, depends upon certain physical qualities. On the whole, they may be classed among manual workers. But the power to produce wealth in any extraordinary degree is purely psychical. It ranges all the way from moderate cleverness in adapting means to ends to consummate genius. In its general characteristics it is entirely analogous—we might say entirely similar—to powers that are exclusively intellectual. We know how widely men differ in respect of scientific, literary, and artistic abilities, and how few there are who attain to really great competence as statesmen or as military leaders. There is no reason for believing that men differ any less in those capabilities which are essential to the production of wealth. Nor is there any basis for the assumption that only a limited amount of wealth can be created by a single in-

dividual. Production is the rendering of the utilities of nature available to man. The resources of nature are practically infinite; the ability to lay hold of them is all that is needed; and there is no reason for limiting this power to anything heretofore achieved.

The psychical factors operating in the production of wealth are both more numerous and more influential than have been apprehended by the majority of even able thinkers. Leaving out for the present the added power that has come through the invention of machinery, by which production is increased from five to fifty fold, and the scientific discoveries on which these inventions rest, we may yet readily see how largely the creation of wealth is due to mere mental ability. We have instances where, by the simple organization of a force of laboring men and a skillful distribution of the work according to individual capacity, the product has been increased to more than two hundred times the previous amount, and this, too, by purely handicraft process. Clearly enough the increase in these cases was the result of superior mental, and not of manual, power. Still more remarkable is the effect of the ingenuity of man when working with machinery.

The plea is made by certain socialistic writers that, while it is true that this great increase of productive effect has its source in psychical, rather than physical, causes, it is also true that the men who possess the former are dependent on manual laborers, and, therefore, that these should be, if not equal sharers in the industrial result, at least larger sharers than they are. The general tendency of thought with the class of thinkers to whom reference is made is that there should be an equality of distribution. If by this were only meant that the amount going to the manual laborers should be equal to that going to employers it might be replied that the former do now receive not only as large an amount, but even much more. In the annual report for 1893 upon the manufactures of the State of Massachusetts by the Bureau of Statistics we find that in nine leading industries, embracing more than nineteen hundred establishments, the amount directly paid in wages was fifty-five per cent of the whole product, while that paid indirectly would make a considerable addition. In many instances it went up to sixty, and even sixty-five, per cent. But this is not accepted

as a fair equivalent by many. Some go to the extent of insisting that every laborer should receive as much as any proprietor. This would, of course, imply an equality of compensation among the laborers themselves. It would be difficult to show that ethical justice demands such a distribution. If it is to be conceded it must be either on the ground of benevolence or of industrial policy. On these topics something further will appear as we go on.

As to the principle that the mutual dependence of manual laborers and the *entrepreneur* implies the right of sharing equally in the product, it is evidently contrary to the practical judgment of man in other and analogous social relations. No one really thinks that the organ blower should receive equal credit with the man who handles the keys in a musical performance; and yet the latter is as really dependent on the former as the man of great business ability is on his workmen. The sculptor is dependent on the common quarryman and the stone hewer for the block out of which he makes his statue; but no one claims that the latter are entitled to an equal share with the former in the merit, to say nothing of the pecuniary result, of the production.

It is further to be noted that the dependence of the two parties is not wholly mutual. It is admitted that the manual laborer is dependent on the ability of the capitalist employer for the opportunity to labor in any largely productive way, and that the latter is dependent on the former. But it seems to be overlooked that, while the latter can do all that the former can, the former cannot do all that the latter can. Karl Marx makes it his main indictment of the present industrial system and a reason why it should give place to collectivism that all the surplus product of labor—that is, all save the bare pittance necessary for subsistence—is appropriated by the employer, who is a mere exploiter of labor, himself creating no value. Leaving out of account for the present the contradiction of the bare pittance allegation by a multitude of facts, the doctrine that the employer or *entrepreneur* produces nothing is easily refuted. It has already been seen how great is the increase of product from organization and skillful distribution of the laborers, and that the power to effect this to much advantage resides in only a few minds. One can see at a glance

what would be the result, or rather the lack of result, if a thousand Italians or other not highly intelligent laborers were set to work to build a railway through any section of the country without some directing mind. Not a rod of the road would be constructed—this, too, without saying anything concerning preliminary engineering. It is seen, again, in the difference in the success of different industrial enterprises where the abilities of the operatives are practically the same and there can be no superiority or inferiority save in the management. There are, for instance, in Massachusetts one hundred and thirty-seven cotton factories, of which eighty-seven make more or less net profits for their shareholders, while fifty make no net profits at all, and some of them sustain losses. Yet the same wages were paid, and the manual labor performed was as efficient in those making no profits as in the others. Admitting that there are certain accidental elements contributing to the poor showing of the one set and the good showing of the other, it is still palpable that the substantial difference is in the character of the men who direct the business.

Another part of Marx's argument is more subtle and more likely to mislead. It is to the effect that every product comprises three elements—the material which has been elaborated, the effect of the wear and waste of tools and machinery used in its production, and the labor expended. The value of the first two reappears in the new product, and is precisely the same as that which has disappeared from the material and the instruments. The remaining value, that is, all the real value of the product, is the result of manual labor and, therefore, rightly belongs to the manual laborer. But of this he insists that the larger part goes to the exploiter of labor, who produces nothing. It can easily be shown that Marx wholly leaves out the chief psychical factors in production. His argument is valid only as it applies to physical effort and effect. But, aside from this, it is subject to a *reductio ad absurdum*. Nearly always, in any considerable establishment, there are not only different machines, widely varying in productive power, but there are also certain processes of the simple handicraft order. Ten men work side by side. Two of them operate a machine of which the value of the product is twenty dollars a day. Three work with one producing the value of forty-five dollars a day. Five

of them are doing simple mechanical work worth in the aggregate ten dollars a day. Now, according to Marx's theory, here are three sets of men, entitled respectively to ten, fifteen, and two dollars a day per man; and it is to be noted that the exertion is, if anything, less in the more highly paid than in the less highly paid. There would seem to be some absurdity in this on the very face of it.

I said that Marx took no account of the psychical factors in production. It may furthermore be said that he does not take account of even all the physical factors—only of those implied in the human effort put forth. But nature does something in the creation of wealth, always cooperating under required conditions. Indeed, nature is the principal producer, the human agency being almost exclusively concerned in furnishing the proper conditions. Mr. Mallock * makes this evident in his supposed case of three cultivators of the soil. Each has his plot of ground; each puts in the same amount of work; and all are presumed to be equally intelligent and equally diligent. But the product is in the ratio of fifteen, twelve, and nine. To be consistent, Marx would have to say that these amounts are produced severally by the respective laborers. The common sense of the ordinary thinker would assert that, while the productive powers of the men are equal, those of the natural agents are unequal—that is, the difference is owing to the character of the soil. We are compelled to admit that nature varies more in this respect than do the physical powers of man. What is true in the case of land is true, also, of material in the form of capital or machinery. Evidently, so far as manual labor is concerned, while we may readily see that more is contributed to the creation of wealth by the same number of men than formerly—for the facts of better compensation, a higher standard of living, and, consequently, more physical vigor would imply this—yet this accounts for only a small fraction of the relative increase in production. For the rest we must look to invention and to the psychical elements involved in management and direction. How much is to be attributed to these has only recently begun to be apprehended. In fact, these extraordinary powers have never existed in anything like their present large measure till

* *Labor and the Popular Welfare*, pp. 93–100.

within the last hundred years. As previously intimated, this power of the *entrepreneur* is found in only a few minds. Mr. Mallock makes an estimate, and gives good reason for it, that one sixteenth of the population really produces nearly two thirds of the wealth. These considerations ought to be sufficient, even if there were no others, to account for the great disparity of wealth without presuming any vicious principle.

There is a class of thinkers who, while they are compelled, in view of the facts cited, to admit that there is a palpable difference in the wealth-producing power of individuals, yet insist that it exists to only a limited extent. They do not believe that the vast accumulations made by certain persons can be legitimately acquired. They hold that beyond a limited amount such fortunes are gained only by means implying the withholding of the share properly belonging to others, and that no one can rightfully amass an estate of two or three millions without defrauding others. Just where the line should be drawn they do not undertake to determine. But, so far as can be seen in the light which investigation has thrown on the subject, no limit need be fixed. The only condition to be observed is that no one shall have less because some other has more. If this is insisted on there will be no danger that one or a very small number will possess all the wealth of the community; and that is what seems to be feared by those who look with concern upon the vast accumulations which have been made by some in recent years.

Of course, it is in the very nature of things that great wealth will be the portion of only a minority, just as great learning, extraordinary talent, and transcendent genius are the portion of only comparatively few. For, as we have seen, the wealth-creating ability is analogous to other mental endowments. Though it is found in only a small number, the great majority who have it not are not losers, but rather great gainers, because of this fact. A concrete case may help us to see this more clearly. In a New England town off the line of the railroads there are about one hundred and sixty families. There are two villages. There is no large business concern in the town, farming being the principal occupation. There are some half a dozen professional men, the usual quota of mechanics, and three or four country merchants. Most of the families are in

moderately comfortable conditions. The number of paupers reaches about the ordinary average in such communities. There are in the town three men of wealth. One of them is a man of national reputation. These three men own about five times as much property as all the rest of the inhabitants together—that is, less than one fiftieth of the families possess about five sixths of the wealth. There is no complaint in the town because these men are so rich. There are no indications that anyone is poorer on that account. On the contrary, it is tolerably evident that the people as a whole are better off because of it. In a neighboring town, where there are no rich men, certainly the general condition is far from being any better. Now, this may be an exceptional instance. No doubt there are cases where the wealth of the few is at the expense of the many; but this is not a necessary or general consequence. In the *Forum* for November, 1889, Mr. Shearman maintained that one seventieth of the people of the United States own two thirds of the property. This is singularly near the state of things in the little country town just spoken of. We may freely grant that such disparity and such concentration are not the normal or the healthiest condition of things. And we may do this without at all admitting that the causes of this inequality reside wholly or principally in our vicious methods of taxation. These certainly are exceedingly imperfect—as, indeed, any system must be—and in some of their features needlessly oppressive. But, bad as they are, these systems are insufficient to account for the existing conditions.

It needs no formal argument to prove that considerable numbers of men have accumulated wealth through unfair means. Selfishness is an almost universally prevailing vice. While in many it is restrained or subordinated, in others it palpably breaks out in fraud, in taking advantage of the weak, and in scarcely concealed robbery. Frequently, it defeats itself, but, unhappily, not always; and often a man becomes enormously rich because he has taken that which is justly the wealth of others. But this no more disproves that great wealth may be legitimately acquired, than the obvious fact that rogues and knaves by the thousand secure a living by unjust means proves that a living can be obtained in no other way. Sometimes great fortunes are made by speculation. I use the term

"speculation" here in its narrower sense, to indicate a sort of transaction in which one gains what others inevitably lose, stock gambling being a typical example of these transactions. No wealth is created by this method of business. The community as a whole is not one whit better off on account of it. The great mass of men in moderate circumstances are not greatly affected by these transactions. But there is a particular fact which should be considered here. Men who figure on the exchange do not generally belong to the industrial army. It makes little difference to the latter whether Mr. Smith makes three or four millions out of Mr. Jones, or whether the latter has relieved the former of a similar amount in some shrewd deal. Mr. Brown may have been so acute in discerning the set of the speculative current at one period as to become a multifold millionaire; at another time he may have so miscalculated it as to be compelled to earn his daily bread in some honest occupation. It makes no difference to the great body of honest toilers. They are neither richer nor poorer by these ups and downs in the financial careers of the men alluded to.

But it is otherwise when a few men form combinations by which they control the market and compel the great body of consumers to pay more than the normal price for the necessaries of life. In this way a few may get enormously rich at the expense of the many; and both the poor and the well to do—and the former more than the latter—are made to contribute to their unrighteous accumulations. But we must still insist that not all great fortunes come in this or in kindred ways. It is clearly conceivable that men may secure for themselves great wealth, while they are at the same time helping others to improve their condition. Nor is this a mere conception of the imagination; it is often actualized in real life. When Cornelius Vanderbilt entered upon his project of uniting several railway corporations into one trunk line between Chicago and the Atlantic seaboard, it is hardly to be presumed that he was actuated by a merely philanthropic sentiment. It is possible, though not certain, that he had no thought of benefiting any but himself. It is evident that he did benefit himself to the extent of some millions of dollars; but there is no reason to believe that the poverty of any was increased. On the contrary, the resulting reduction in freight charges tended to increase the wealth of

every Western farmer and Eastern wage-earner; for the one sold his product at a larger profit, and the other purchased it at a lower price.

The consequences of accumulations which involve injustice on the part of the fortune builder are certainly evil. I do not mean by this legal or technical fraud, but such taking advantage of others, in ways that the civil law cannot reach and that even public opinion does not always condemn, as implies that the gain of one is conditioned on the loss of another. This is not only an ethical wrong, but it is a social and economic evil. It gives certain persons more than they can use to advantage and deprives others of the comforts of life. Another and more general evil is that great wealth gives its possessor power over those who have small competencies. The facilities for production are, as is charged by the socialists, in the hands of the wealthy; and it is possible to use them as a means of oppression and extortion. This is not only possible, but is likely to become actual with the unprincipled and the selfish. There are many instances where such advantage is taken and the poor are made still poorer. It is not good that one man or a whole class of men should be placed at the mercy of another man or combination of men. Inevitably, their power will sometimes be used to the further depression of those who are already sadly depressed and to keeping them from ever rising. It is true that social forces are always operating to counteract this tendency to oppression; but these are never sufficient to wholly prevent it. There are multiplied instances of degradation, want, and suffering caused by industrial oppressions; and the greed, extortion, and cruelty displayed call loudly for redress.

But it does not follow that such abuses are the natural result of individual accumulation. On the contrary, many and vast benefits accrue. First, there is the universally admitted fact that a very large amount of capital is necessary as a condition for the profitable employment of labor. Even the temporary withdrawal of any considerable portion of the wealth used in production occasions great loss and distress to workingmen. It is not a sufficient reply to say that in former times, when great capitals rarely existed, the manual laborer maintained himself and his family in comparative comfort. Indeed, as a matter of fact, the condition of the average laborer was far from being

as satisfactory as now. And we are to remember that in civilized nations population has so greatly increased within the last two centuries that, without the almost incredible modern developments in machinery, which imply an immense increase in capital, production would have fallen far short of the demand and the sufferings of the poor would have become almost insupportable. Again, these accumulations, where they are legitimate, imply an ability on the part of their possessors which by no means exhausts itself in the acquisition. This ability adds to the welfare of many another. It plans and carries on great enterprises, and thus furnishes employment to thousands of laborers. As we have seen, such ability is rare; and yet on its existence and exercise depends, in large measure, the prosperity of the great mass of laboring men. There is not a very large number of men who can successfully manage business enterprises of even moderate proportions; not simply because most men lack the requisite capital, but also because they have not the necessary mental equipment. Of all who undertake to do business on more than the most ordinary scale only a few succeed. It has been estimated that ninety per cent fail sooner or later. This may be an exaggeration; but if it be only half true the lesson is the same. It is better for the large majority to be assured of a fair wage regularly paid, than to assume responsibilities with which only men of extraordinary sagacity are competent to cope.

To this kind of security there is for the masses no other alternative than the establishment of State socialism; and, whatever modifications the present system may undergo in the socialistic direction, modern society is not disposed to accept socialism as a whole, with its untested industrial theories. The benefits of such a system could be proved only by experience; and our communities are not willing to be the subjects of experiment on so gigantic a scale, where almost infinite risks are involved. It is admitted by nearly all the sober and candid advocates of collectivism that, even assuming the soundness of the theory and its practicability, it must come about gradually and not till after a lapse of many years. Rodbertus puts it at five hundred, others at a century or more. But what are we to do in the meantime? Evidently, we must go on with the present system, giving to it such modifications as investigation

and discussion may suggest. Such changes are going on all the time. We may expect they will continue and, perhaps, be more frequent and more radical in the future than in the past.

All parties acknowledge that great social evils exist. An excessive optimism, that sees nothing to mend, has no proper place in the mind of any candid thinker. The removal of these evils must come from either of two sources. On the one hand, those who are unfavorably affected must demand justice and equity, and their voice must be heard. They have certain means of emancipation in their own hands, and through organization and agitation they are doing something to diminish the hardships of their lot. They may labor under many and great errors—this is inevitable—but education, experience, and candor will correct them. The other source of rectification referred to lies with the rich and prosperous. It may be laid down as a stable principle that the right of every man to all the wealth he honestly acquires, however much it may be, does not carry with it the right to use it in any way that may suit caprice or minister to selfish desires. There are duties, as well as rights, and *noblesse oblige* has its application here more aptly than anywhere else. Between two parties rights and obligations do not always precisely coincide. One may have no right to demand a service of me, while I am, nevertheless, in duty bound to render it. The obligation may emanate from a higher source and be evolved from a larger relationship. If I see a man in great distress, from which it is in my power to relieve him without unreasonable cost to myself, while he may have no claim upon me for this help, yet it is clearly my duty to render it. It is the distinction between justice and benevolence. They are both equally binding, but they are not the same. The one can be made the subject of civil law, the other cannot. The one may be enforced in the tribunals of justice, the other may not. But in the great court of public sentiment the man who fails to respond to the call of humanity is summarily and universally condemned.

The duty of wealth is not exhausted in affording aid to individuals in misfortune or in public, and even profuse, charities. To the community which has furnished the conditions of great accumulations something is owing. Sometimes this debt is discharged wholly or in part in the endowment of schools and

colleges, in the bestowment of libraries and museums and the buildings and means to contain and support them, in the founding of lecture courses, in the establishment of hospitals and other great charities, in the presentation of parks and fountains and other works of art. It is so deeply seated in the convictions of men that private wealth ought to contribute to these purposes—not because the public has a claim, but from a sense of higher social and moral obligations—that when a man of vast possessions dies and leaves no bequests for such objects there is not only disappointment, but something like execration, generally suppressed, it is true, yet not wholly concealed. There is, furthermore, binding upon the man of wealth the duty to use his property for the economic welfare of the community. There is much censure in our time of the "idle rich," and it is wholly legitimate. Generally speaking, no man of physical and mental health has a right to be unemployed. One should, at least, produce as much as one consumes. Inherited wealth implies no right to spend life in mere indulgence. There are thousands who claim this right and who are as useless to the world as any of the army of tramps and penniless loafers which infests our communities. The responsibility of the rich is not met when they simply deal justly in paying the tradesmen who serve them, the domestics whom they employ, or the artists whose productions they buy. It is their duty to use a reasonable amount of their property as capital and to be themselves engaged in production, thus both adding to the wealth of the community and providing opportunity to those who desire to labor. It is not designed to condemn those who, possessing large wealth either of their own creation or by inheritance, devote themselves to philanthropy and the public service. Such men are a greater benefit to society thus than they could be in any other way.

Another stricture is in order. Rich men, in claiming the right to do what they will with their own, will do well to remember that this does not imply the liberty of extravagant, useless, and wasteful expenditure. No man, no matter how rich he may be, may so destroy property that out of it shall come no addition of value to himself or others. A generous and bountiful style, it is true, is not only allowable, but is often demanded. A certain high standard of living is desirable, even

for men in moderate circumstances. There is, nevertheless, a profusion of expenditure which is ostentatious and vulgar, which ministers neither to the welfare of the individual or family nor to the advantage of the community, and which cannot be otherwise properly characterized than as a wicked waste of opportunity. It is hardly necessary to add, especially as something has already been said on this topic, that wealth cannot be innocently used as a means of oppression. Men may not rightly combine their fortunes to put down competition, destroy the business of their rivals, ruin independent producers, get control of the world's markets, levy toll upon the people like the bandit barons of the Middle Ages, and thus build colossal fortunes for themselves. Such uses of wealth are violations of ethical and social laws, and they have in them the seeds of dire retribution.

Geo. M. Steele.

Art. VII.—METHODIST EPISCOPACY IN TRANSITION.

Methodist episcopacy is both apostolic and scriptural. It is apostolic, in that it first came into existence as the outgrowth of an extraordinary spiritual movement, after the manner of primitive episcopacy; and it is scriptural, in that it was founded in remarkable harmony with scriptural precedent and under the liberal charter of self-government which the New Testament grants to every Christian organization. Every friend of Christian unity and Christian liberty, and especially every Methodist, should ever thank God that Mr. Wesley was led to set apart the first Methodist bishops himself, without interposition of any prelate claiming to exercise his functions by an authority derived from an unbroken line of successors to the original apostles. Beyond all doubt, this fiction of an "historic" episcopacy is the greatest barrier in the way of Christian unity throughout the world to-day; and the most practical, as well as the most effective, protest which has been made against it is the widespread presence of another episcopacy—historic, without having any history to be ashamed of, and apostolic, without possessing a long succession of prelates many of whom were models of all that apostles should not be. This modern form of episcopacy is rapidly extending its influence, and seems destined to a still wider and more rapid extension in the future.

I have used the word "outgrowth" as descriptive of the origin of Methodist episcopacy, meaning that God directed by providential tokens those who first gave it a definite shape. No one among the early founders of Methodism, from Mr. Wesley down, anticipated at the outset that such a feature would ever be impressed on the Methodist system. It took shape very gradually; and, while its formal acknowledgment by the election of Bishops Coke and Asbury as bishops of an independent Church had some of the suddenness of a surprise, this momentous act was in reality but the culmination of a long series of events which logically led up to it and which could hardly have terminated differently. It follows naturally that a system which, from the very first, was subject to the laws of providential development can never acquire the character of a rigid framework beyond the reach of either amendment or adjust-

ment to new emergencies. As a matter of fact, it has been subject to modification from the beginning, and will, no doubt, continue to be so as long as the Church retains the vitality of a growing body. It ought to be admitted as inevitable, therefore, by every Church accepting this form of episcopacy, that the system will change from time to time; and the discussion of modifications which may seem desirable and at times inevitable should never be regarded as implying disloyalty to the system itself. As a simple matter of history, the episcopacy which was adopted at the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church has already been modified in several important respects, until at the present day, so far as its practical workings are concerned, it differs very widely from that which bore the same name a century ago.

What were the chief distinctive features of the Methodist episcopacy in the days of Coke and Asbury? In the first place, it was presbyterial, as distinct from the sacerdotal, or prelatical, episcopacy with which the world had become familiar in the Roman, Eastern, and Anglican Churches. Next, it was general, as distinguished from the diocesan feature which many maintained had been handed down from the apostles and had thus become as inviolable as the episcopacy itself. The bishop was not regarded as inseparable from a limited, and usually very small, piece of territory, but could have duties assigned to him in any part of the wide domain of the Church. In the third place, the position which he held was regarded as an office bestowed upon him by the suffrages of his equals, and not as the prerogative of an order received at the hands of superiors. In office he stood above his brethren; but in ministerial orders they were his equals. As such, he was amenable to these brethren for his conduct, could be placed on trial by them, and could make no appeal against their action to a higher order of ministers. In every feature of the episcopacy the supremacy of the Church and the subordination of the bishop were recognized. Lastly, it is to be noted that the bishop was not only a general superintendent, in the sense of exercising a general supervision over the Church, but that this supervision was of a militant character. The early Methodist bishop was expected to be a leader. The Church of Asbury's day was, in the best sense of the word, a militant Church. The supervision of the

bishop was that of a commander on the battlefield, and in every action he was expected in person to keep close behind the skirmish line. If his authority was very great, corresponding to the militant character of his office, his subordination was equally marked. The senior of the first two bishops once had his jurisdiction limited by a simple vote of his brethren, so that his status was made to correspond in a remarkable degree to that of a missionary bishop at the present day. It will thus be seen that Methodist episcopacy, as first formulated, was a very unique institution in the Christian world. Nothing exactly corresponding to it had been seen since the early days of Christianity. Under God, it owed its origin to the Church. In both of these respects it became a living protest against the prevailing "historic" error, that the Church owed its origin to the episcopacy and could not even exist without its presence and control.

It would be interesting to note the changes which gradually took place in the evolution of our episcopacy; but space will not permit this, nor is it necessary to notice them except in brief outline. It was quickly found that the bishops could not all be present at each Conference session, and this obligation was quietly dropped. The rapid extension of the work soon made it impossible for them to be present at all the circuits, and in consequence their faces began to be less and less familiar to the mass of the common people. The creation of a General Conference strengthened their position and added in some respects to their functions, but did not tend to draw them nearer to the people. Their judicial functions became more strictly defined, and their responsibilities in general more weighty, as time passed. There was no regular rotation in the presidency of the Annual Conferences; and in the New England Conference, where Bishop Hedding presided for five or six successive years, a "districted episcopacy" was for a time in practical existence, without any attention being called to the fact.*

* Since the above was written an article has appeared in *Zion's Herald*, written by Dr. D. H. Ela, in which the case as here presented is greatly strengthened. Dr. Ela says: "The general superintendency has not kept pace with the growth of the body. It has nothing like the acquaintance with, and supervision of, the Church which existed in earlier days. Indeed, it has been in danger of losing its vital relation to the body. Bishop Asbury presided at sixteen of the first nineteen sessions of the New England Conference. He knew personally every man, and visited annually nearly every circuit in the Conference. Bishop McKendree attended every session but one of the Conference from 1809 to 1817—the first five with Asbury. Bishop Hedding attended twenty of the twenty-six sessions from 1824 to 1849.

The Asburyan era practically came to a close in 1852. Three of the four bishops elected in that year were, each in his way, representatives of new ideas and new policies. The time was favorable for an advance in many directions. The separation of the Southern Conferences was a relief, not only from embittered controversy, but from an intolerable situation. A new wave of emigration was rolling westward. New educational institutions were springing into existence, and ministerial education had just received its highest indorsement by the election of Bishop Baker. The Missionary Society was just beginning to realize the purpose for which it had been founded, and in the great cities leading men were waking to the momentous responsibilities which confronted the Church. It was a time for great leaders and brave leadership; and at no period in our history have more capable men come to the front, both in the episcopacy and outside of it.

It was at or near this date that the first attempt was made to introduce a regular system into the work of supervising the Annual Conferences. To each bishop a certain number of Conferences was assigned for a period of twelve months; and, although these Conferences were not by any means selected with regard to contiguity of territory, yet a most important principle was thereby recognized and a still more important precedent established. Each bishop was placed in charge of a specified field for the term of twelve months. For that length of time the whole work was divided into districts; and this policy prevails to the present day. As the years passed by the foreign missions began to enroll converts in many countries, and in due time Annual Conferences were organized in foreign lands, at first tentatively, but later with all the rights and privileges of Annual Conferences in the United States. These Conferences were placed under the permanent supervision of the several bishops, the same general superintendent in some cases retaining exclusive jurisdiction over a Conference for a dozen years or more. In this way another most important precedent was established, namely, that the

Down to 1854 no bishop presided alone in the Conference until he had attended at least one session of the Conference in company with an older bishop. Such acquaintance with, and personal supervision of, the Conference by the bishop has become year by year less possible and more neglected, till now it begins with the opening of the annual session and closes with the reading of the appointments."

"general itinerant superintendency" does not require an interchange of the supervision of the Conferences among the bishops every twelve months. Meanwhile, the creation of Judicial Conferences, the immense expansion of our publishing interests, the increase of benevolent societies in the Church, the growth of legislation, and the outline on the horizon of new questions of the greatest importance have all combined to add to the responsibilities of the bishops, and, at the same time, to withdraw them more and more from the sphere of active leadership which pertained to them during the Asburyan era.

It seems very probable that with the advent of a new century our Church will enter upon the third stage of her history. We are now in the closing years of the second era. Many changes have occurred during the past fifty years, and the end is not yet. In the early days of Asbury no one foresaw the rapid expansion of the country, both in territory and population, and certainly no one anticipated that before the close of the present century our ministers, in different parts of the world, would be witnessing for Christ in thirty-six different languages. No one foresaw, no one could have foreseen, the extraordinary development of new interests which has taken place; and hence it was simply impossible a century ago, or even half a century ago, to formulate a policy which would meet the demands of an era like the present. The episcopacy of a hundred years ago is not equal to present emergencies. A hundred Asburys could not now supervise the work as the one Asbury did it in the beginning; while it is as certain as any future and contingent event can be that the difficulties of the situation will increase rapidly, rather than diminish, with the lapse of years. A widespread impression prevails among our people that some parts of our present episcopal system need readjustment, in order to adapt the Church to her new responsibilities and prepare fully for the stupendous duties of the coming century. Among various proposals, perhaps the most prominent, as well as the most practical, is that of giving more definite fields of labor to the several general superintendents.

The demand for a "districted episcopacy" is more urgent and much more general at the present time than is commonly supposed. No episcopal system can permanently succeed which

does not include the continuous personal supervision of a responsible leader. It need hardly be said that our present system fails conspicuously at this point. A presiding bishop cannot form plans with any expectation of himself helping to carry them into effect. He knows perfectly well that when he leaves the brethren before him it will probably be to return no more. He is the presiding officer of an ecclesiastical assembly; but he is not, and cannot be, the leader of a militant army. His duties are assigned to him in such a way as to give him a maximum of authority and a minimum of responsibility. He is rarely obliged to face the results of his own Conference administration. He acquires but little local knowledge and wields but little local influence. He deals with the most vital interests of a thousand of his brethren, without having a personal acquaintance with one in ten or, perhaps, one in twenty among them. He is a "general" superintendent, and yet will not dare to decide any pending question outside the ever-shifting boundaries of the Conferences allotted to him. To the mass of the people he is an invisible official, highly esteemed no doubt, but no longer filling the place in the public mind and heart which was held by Asbury and his earlier successors. In other words, our bishops are losing touch with the people. Large presiding elders' districts are pointed out within which no bishop has ever entered. Vast commonwealths there are within which no bishop ever goes except during the hurried session of an Annual Conference. The country circuits know the bishops only by name, and only the more important city churches can hope to receive their ministrations.

The attempt to maintain the present "systemless and outgrown" policy must soon be abandoned. To require sixteen men to interchange their fields of labor annually, to cut up these fields into detached and widely separated sections, to plan deliberately for useless travel, for a crossing and recrossing of one another's tracks, to waste time and strength and money for what most practical men will call naught, to attempt to extend this system to the ends of the earth, and calmly to propose to maintain it until the sixteen shall have become sixty or a hundred and sixty—all this seems so manifestly unwise and absurd that the mere statement of the case becomes its own condemnation. The late Bishop Kingsley,

speaking of this policy, once said to me in India, "It is the wildest scheme I have ever known good men to propose." The good sense of our people will demand, is now demanding, something more practical and more in keeping with the original spirit of our episcopal system.

The mere statement of this proposal will, no doubt, call forth an appeal to the third Restrictive Rule. For some reason, it seems always to be taken for granted that the word "plan" in that rule refers solely to the present absence of plan in the practical working of our itinerant general superintendency. To modify a plan, if this absence of plan can be called a plan at all, is not to destroy it. To develop and perfect a plan which exists only in imperfect outline is the farthest possible remove from destroying it. What was the original plan? It was "general," but not "diocesan." It was "itinerant," in the Methodist sense of that word. The preachers were itinerants, but were restricted to circuits, although constantly changed from one circuit to another. As time passed they became less and less itinerant, until at last the term became a purely ecclesiastical one, meaning only that the preacher was subject to more or less frequent changes of residence. His actual itinerating in many cases now consists in walking about fifty feet from his own door to the adjacent church. A somewhat similar, if less marked, change has come over the itinerant "plan" of the bishops. The Asburyan plan has long since broken down, and the bishops by mutual agreement now "district" their work. Every reader of our Church papers is familiar with the "Plan of Episcopal Visitation," which, being interpreted, means the formal districting of certain Conferences. This has been done so long and has been approved by so many General Conferences that it is too late to appeal to any restrictive rule against it.

If, now, the General Conference at Cleveland were to relieve the bishops of the responsibility of making out these plans and do it for them it is hardly conceivable that anyone would object to the action as unconstitutional. And if the General Conference made out the plan for two years, instead of one, the action would be equally legal. The next step is an easy one and in plain sight. Let the General Conference make out the plan for four years, instead of one, and the task is nearly com-

plete. It remains only to form the Conferences into groups or districts geographically, as well as ecclesiastically, and to make the bishop assigned to each district responsible for it for four years, in order to complete a development of a plan which would give new vigor to our Church. This change would not "destroy" the plan laid down in the Discipline; it would only reduce it to system. It would make it vastly more effective. It would eliminate the obsolete elements in the plan and make it more practical, as well as more sensible. Each bishop would be subject to a removal quadrennially, and hence would be still an itinerant, like other Methodist preachers. Each bishop would be subject to appointment to any part of the wide field of the Church, and hence his superintendency would be "general." If it be said that the bishops should travel at large through all the work the answer is obvious—no one does. For fifty years past no one has been able to perform this feat. Bishop Ames quietly refused to cross the ocean, and the General Conference approved his administration. Bishop Simpson never saw India or China. It is morally certain that even our youngest bishops will never complete the round of all the Conferences in the United States. What is the use, then, of trying to keep up an illogical make-believe about our "general" superintendency? No living man could discharge the duties which we try to make ourselves believe we are exacting from our bishops.

The relation of this proposed change to our missionary episcopacy is obvious. When it was first proposed to provide a resident bishop for Liberia the question was viewed from the narrowest possible standpoint. The policy had just been adopted of sending no more white missionaries to the African coast, and even the occasional visits of the bishops were considered too perilous to be kept up. But how should the Liberian ministers be ordained? It was chiefly to provide for this that the original plan of a missionary episcopacy was devised, and it is not strange that from the first it proved a failure. The election of Bishop Taylor precipitated a heated controversy concerning questions of "status" and administration; and, as might have been expected, our foreign missionaries lifted up their voices against an episcopacy which seemed so narrow and worked so unsatisfactorily. The action of the General Con-

ference in 1888, whatever else may be said for or against it, certainly put an immediate and complete end to the controversy then pending; and thus far the new plan has not given rise to any special complaints. Mere questions of ecclesiastical status have no value whatever so long as the interests of the Church are successfully administered and conserved. But if the policy indicated above had been adopted in the first place there need never have been a missionary episcopacy. It would only have been necessary to create an episcopal district in a given foreign land and assign a bishop to it, subject to the same restrictions as his brethren in the home land.

The present restrictions imposed on missionary bishops work no hardship of any kind and do no possible harm; but they are a trifle absurd. When one of the greatest and best of English prelates was on his way to Calcutta, many years ago, he made an agreement to join a nonconformist minister who was on board at daily prayer, and during the first half of the voyage the two brethren greatly enjoyed their little meeting. When, however, they passed the longitude of Cape Town the Anglican told his nonconformist brother that he could no longer meet him in prayer, since he was now within the borders of his own diocese. This seems absurd enough, no doubt; but is our own rule more logical which forbids a man who has authority to ordain in Lucknow and Bombay to perform the same duty after he passes Aden, at the mouth of the Red Sea, even though requested to do so by sixteen bishops?

The permanent policy of our Church with reference to the episcopal supervision of our foreign missions can hardly yet be regarded as definitely settled. The action of 1888 is not accepted by all parties as the final adjustment of this difficult question. By many it is still regarded as, at best, only a temporary measure; and some of our wisest leaders are strongly of the opinion that it would be better to adhere to the old policy of sending out bishops from home to inspect the work and to preside at the Conferences. For this policy it is claimed (1) that the work should be regularly inspected by parties acting on behalf of the Missionary Society; (2) that the General Committee needs the information which so many visiting bishops would be able to give; (3) that the bishops would be able to spread their observations before the Church in such a way as to

stimulate missionary interest; (4) that the unity of the Church would be thus conserved, and the workers abroad be kept in touch with their brethren in the home land.

These points may all be conceded; but the missionary abroad is quick to observe that they only indirectly touch the question of episcopal supervision. A Methodist bishop is certainly something more than an inspector general of missions. As before remarked, he must be a leader, must be able to plan campaigns and execute his own plans, must have administrative ability, and must in person attend to many matters which a visiting bishop would not think of attempting. It is a small matter to inspect a work, but a very weighty task to create a work to be inspected. If Mr. Wesley had instructed Francis Asbury to inspect the work in America and then return and report to him in person, what possible good would his visit have accomplished, and where would American Methodism have been to-day? As to the advice of the visiting bishops at the meetings of the General Committee, it cannot be denied that the presence of so many able men who have traveled widely over the world adds greatly to the interest of such meetings; but, as to the practical results, it may be said that in recent years it has more than once happened that all the advice tendered by visiting bishops did not affect the appropriations to the extent of five hundred dollars.

In the mission field, above all other places, the presence of a superintending leader is of the utmost importance. The isolation of the workers, the inexperience of most of the convert preachers, the pioneer character of the work, the necessity of devising new measures, the constant care to make organization keep pace with progress, the liability to dissension—these and a score of other reasons might be named as indicating the urgent need of a superintending leader on the field. The old plan has not worked successfully. Harmony among the workers has not been the rule in all our fields. The administration has not always been uniform. The policy pursued has not tended to produce leaders, but rather to repress them. If it is a mistake to give authority without responsibility, it is a much more serious error to give responsibility without authority. Slowly, but steadily, the missionaries in the field are yielding to the conviction that a series of annual visits from an ever-

changing number of bishops, however desirable in some respects, does not constitute episcopal supervision, in any proper sense of the word. If free to choose, they would not propose a missionary episcopacy; but they are rapidly reaching the conclusion that the name matters little, provided their practical wants are met. They are Methodists working under the Methodist Episcopal system, and very naturally they wish to have all the working machinery of their Church on the ground and in proper working order.

So far from reversing the policy adopted in 1888, it ought to be extended to all our larger mission fields. India urgently needs two, and should have three, episcopal superintendents. The enforced absence of the present superintendent for long periods is unfavorable to the work. In providing for the several fields a wide freedom of action should be exercised. The work is greater than the bishop. Exceptions should be made without hesitation when occasion demands them. If possible, each field should have its own bishop; but, if need be, two or more countries might be assigned to one person. If the word "missionary" is offensive to the Germans eliminate it; but let the bishop become one of the Germans and go to stay. If it is considered important to have certain of the home bishops go abroad to inspect our missions by all means send them; but do not let this in any way interfere with the normal administration of the work under a bishop on the ground. A bishop is a servant of the Church, and can serve in any capacity or perform any duty to which the voice of the Church calls him. Let this general rule be observed, and future changes can safely be left to those on whom responsibility shall rest when the necessity for change makes itself felt.

J. M. Thoburn

Art. VIII.—THE SONG OF SONGS—A STUDY OF ITS PLAN AND PURPORT.

Our purpose is to set forth the structure of this most remarkable composition as we may trace it in the writing itself. If we are successful there results the surest basis for an interpretation which shall be void of vagaries and extravagances such as have been most common and most harmful in the past. It will be our aim to indicate some portions of Scripture that prepared the way for this Song of Songs, and other portions that followed its appearance and are the highest tribute to the influence which it exerted on the religious development of the Hebrews. Our attempt will be within the realm of reconstructive criticism. Herein each advance is attended with greatest difficulties.

We would do injustice to Methodist scholarship, and also to the generous encouragement of scholarship on the part of the Book Concern, if we were to fail to mention two recent translations of this Song of Songs—one made by the late Dr. James Strong, and the other by Professor Milton S. Terry. The Song is worked out, in each of these translations, into minute dramatic detail. Herein alone is there agreement; for the understanding of the Song is different with each author. Dr. Strong accepts the view that the poem is a celebration of Solomon's marriage with a daughter of Pharaoh. It is accordingly constructed to represent the seven days during which the marriage festivities were in process of completion. Perhaps no terser and more forcible judgment against this view can be found than that of Adam Clarke, who says: "For my part, I doubt the propriety of this technical arrangement, and do not think that anything of the kind was intended by the author. The division is not obvious and, therefore, in my apprehension, not natural." Dr. Terry sets forth the view he has adopted in these words: "The heroine of this poetic drama is to be understood as a fair young maiden of northern Palestine whom King Solomon is supposed to have sought in vain to win. She resists all his blandishments, rejects all his offers, and remains true to her shepherd lover, to whom she is at last restored." It must be said of the *dramatis personæ* and

the dramatic situations, as set forth in Dr. Terry's translation, that they are "not obvious" and, to my apprehension, "not natural."

It is not unforeseen that the interpretation we propose may be regarded as "not obvious" and, therefore, "not natural." Yet, as it is simple and is easily confirmed by the writing itself, it will certainly have the advantage of approximating quite closely to the obvious and the natural. There are but three parties in the poem. They are the Beloved, the loved one, and the daughters of Jerusalem. It is mainly in the vocative case that the daughters of Jerusalem are made to appear. They are regarded as interested in all that concerns the Beloved and the loved one; and in one case (vi, 1) they wish to seek the Beloved along with the loved one. They are appealed to again and again. Once they are called the daughters of Zion (iii, 11). With the exception of the portions addressed to the daughters of Jerusalem, the whole poem is made up of recitatives and dialogues by the Beloved and the loved one. All the interest, all the charm, all the exquisite beauty in this production center in these two.

To the Hebrew scholar the language of the Song presents an attractiveness unequaled by any other part of the Old Testament of equal length. The peculiar choiceness of the language, the unusualness of many words, the remarkable metaphors present a mine of wealth to every investigator. Much in the poem will be obscure until this field for research has been more thoroughly explored. Still, with all these obscurities, the two chief characters, bound together by a changeless love, draw us to them and win our interest and our admiration. Various relationships of these two parties are pointed out by striking Hebrew words, which each party employs when addressing the other. The most common of these is דּוֹד, *dôd*, and is translated "Beloved." It is the chief name applied to the lover. The loved one utters her deep and abiding love in language which constitutes no small part of the charm of the poem. This Hebrew word in Scripture is more often rendered "David" than "Beloved;" and there is but little doubt that those who first sung the Song kept constantly in mind the thought of David. The Beloved was the new David. Such suggestion meets the reader at almost every turn in the thought. A see-

ond important name is שְׁלֹמֹה, *Shᵉlōmôh*, and means "One giving peace." There is but one passage in the canticle where this word is the name of the far-famed king Solomon who astonished the Hebrews with his luxuriousness and splendor. Elsewhere it refers to the lover, whoever he may be. Much of the uncertainty in the interpretations of the Song may be traced to the failure to make this distinction in the use of שְׁלֹמֹה. The lover was the Peace-giver. His dwelling place was Jerusalem, where peace is taught. This new Solomon is the new David, the Beloved, and worthy of the soul's best love. There are two other names which are applied to the lover. They are common nouns and are words which have been employed as centers for the noblest thought of the Hebrew Bible. The first word is אָח, *'āch*. This word is the Hebrew for "brother." It might be urged that this term is not used definitely as descriptive of the Beloved. Our reply would be that the wish is expressed on the part of the loved one that the shepherd might be as a brother. It is, besides, indisputable that the Beloved calls the object of his love his sister. One last word, and it completes the list of names applied to the Beloved, is מֶלֶךְ, *mélĕkh*. The Beloved is, also, the king.

There are six terms employed to designate the loved one of the Song. She is first called יָפָה, *yâphéh*. She is the fairest among women. It would seem that the reason for this name, the ground of her beauty, is to be found in that passionate appeal which begins,

> O reveal to me,
> Thou whom my soul loveth.

Her love beautifies her and makes her the fairest. She is also called רַעְיָה, *răʿyāh*. In the translation we may render this word "shepherdess." Yet it does not indicate a woman who acts as a shepherd; rather, it means one who is under shepherding care. A third term is יוֹנָה, *yônāh*. This epithet is translated "dove." The word is a term of pure and affectionate greeting. The fourth term is כַּלָּה, *kăllāh*. This word is uniformly rendered "bride;" and much of the strength of the argument relied upon to prove the Song a bridal song is deduced from this word. Yet the word is just as easily and naturally rendered "perfect one;" and this change removes many difficulties. Another word is אֲחוֹת *'āchôth*. The one

loved is called "sister;" and this epithet leads her to wish that he might be called her own brother. The last word is שׁוּלַמִּית, *shûlămmîth*. This epithet means the "one who has peace," and answers to the word שְׁלֹמֹה, which means "He who gives peace."

These terms of endearment reciprocally employed by the two principals in the Song group themselves in four pairs and are suggestive of its purpose. The following observations may be made without fear of contradiction:

I. מֶלֶךְ, "king," and יְפִי, "beauty," are terms applied to Jehovah and to his chosen city of abode. Thus the author of the fiftieth psalm writes:

> Out of Zion, the perfection of beauty,
> God hath shown.

Also in the Lamentations we find these significant words:

> They hiss and wag their heads
> At the daughter of Jerusalem:
> "Is this the city that they called
> The perfection of beauty,
> The joy of the whole land?"—Lam. ii, 15.

The repeated and familiar references in the Psalms and elsewhere to Jehovah as king make it unnecessary to establish this fact by quotations.

II. דּוֹד, or "David," is used in later Hebrew of that unique Person who was to be Jehovah's Representative. Thus we read these remarkable utterances:

> And he shall feed them,
> My servant David;
> He shall feed them,
> And he shall be their shepherd.—Ezek. xxxiv, 23

Or, again, that other remarkable passage:

> And David my servant
> Shall be king over them;
> And they all shall have one shepherd.—Ezek. xxxvii, 24.

These passages also give warrant for the word רַעְיָה, which is used of her who receives the shepherding care.

III. The third pair of terms are שְׁלֹמֹה and שׁוּלַמִּית. At heart, these words mean "giving peace," "having peace."

Passage after passage in the later literature of the Hebrews is rooted in this thought. Thus we read:

> I will make with them
> A covenant of peace.—Ezek. xxxvii, 26.

Or, again, we read:

> For ye shall go forth with joy,
> And be led forth with peace.—Isa. lv, 12.

Here are the new Solomon and the Shulammite.

IV. The last of the four pairs of terms are אָח and אָחוֹת. These are the Hebrew words for "brother" and "sister." The word "sister" was often used in later Hebrew as a designation of a people. Thus we read such utterances as "Thine elder sister is Samaria" (Ezek. xvi, 46), and "Behold, this was the iniquity of thy sister Sodom" (Ezek. xvi, 49). These passages are warrant sufficient to prove that a people, in the time of Ezekiel, was rightly regarded in the light of a sister to other peoples. It is but a natural extension of this mode of expression to regard the protector as a brother. The terms "dove" and "perfect one" are terms of endearment used by the lover; and she who is loved offers in her speech no corresponding ones.

We conclude from the above statements that the Beloved is Jehovah or his Representative, and that the loved one is the chosen people or their city. The theme of the Song is the love between these two. It will now be our aim to set forth how this theme is carried out in the poem itself. We will be at great disadvantage in this endeavor, because we cannot, in the limits of this article, present the translation upon which rest some of the arguments for the view which we present. Yet we trust to avoid the charge of being obscure. The prologue and the epilogue are very easily separable. As they are quite brief and very important in the clews they furnish to the meaning of the beautiful Song we will give them in full.

PROLOGUE: I, 2–4.

> With his mouth he kissed me with kisses;
> O, thy caresses were better than wine.
> For fragrance thy ointments [are] best;
> Thy name was fresh ointment;
> Therefore maidens love thee.
> He drew me on;
> After thee we ran.

The king brought me to his courts.
We were glad, rejoiced in thee,
We remembered thy caresses above wine.
The upright love thee.

It is to be observed that in this prologue the one who is loved speaks. Her words are redolent with the sweet signs and influences of love. These are caresses and perfumes and a name better than perfumes. Such a fresh, unrestrained expression of love characterizes noblest natures when touched for the first time by love. And she gladly follows him whom she loves:

He drew me on;
After thee we ran.

The dominant thoughts in the prologue are of the king and his courts, of the joy and gladness to be found with him, and of the memory of all his endearments. Love of the king is only with the upright. These words briefly outline the first part of the poem. They celebrate a period of faithful devotion and the joy incident thereto.

The epilogue is spoken by the Beloved and evidences his unabating love for her whom he has chosen.

EPILOGUE: VIII, 5–7.

Beneath the fir tree I awakened thee.
There thy mother travailed with thee;
There she who travailed brought thee forth.
Set me as a seal upon thy heart,
As a seal upon thy arm.
O, strong as death is love,
Relentless as the grave is zeal;
Its flames are the flames of fire,
Which is the brightness of Jehovah.
Many waters are not able
To quench love;
Rivers cannot o'erwhelm it.
Though men should give
All the wealth of their house for love,
They would be despicable to him.

Here is the close of this beautiful canticle. What follows is but a later addition, weak and scarcely intelligible; for it was added by the Jews as a flattering compliment to a nation which they would unite to themselves by some outward bond. The epilogue is spoken by the Beloved. It is his closing message.

It declares the unwavering character of his love; nothing can quench it—not many waters, not rivers. Love such as this is immortal. It is love divine, which excels all love. And she who cherishes it is made thereby one with the Beloved. The last three lines are scarcely to be paralleled in all the Old Testament. The sentiment is such as can only be developed where God's love dominates. With God, it is true that nothing has value apart from love:

> Though men should give
> All the wealth of their house for love,
> They would be despicable to him.

It now is incumbent upon us to follow out the structure of the poem which has such a remarkable prologue and such a remarkable epilogue. It is divided into two parts, each of which closes with a question. The first part closes with these words (iii, 6):

> Who is this
> Coming up from the wilderness,
> Like pillars of smoke,
> Perfumed with myrrh and frankincense
> Above all the perfumes of the merchant?

The closing of the second part (viii, 5) bears a striking resemblance to that of part first:

> Who is this
> Coming up from the wilderness,
> Leaning upon her beloved?

This question, substantially closing both parts, remains unanswered. If it were ever answered the answer has not been recorded. There can scarcely be a mistake in this division, since the two portions are constructed alike, the second part only inverting the order of the first. Parallelism is at the basis of the plan of the poem.

There is a peculiar adjuration in the poem which appears four times. It is not throughout identical in the several appearances, except in the first two; but the first two lines are invariable:

> I adjure you,
> O daughters of Jerusalem.

The meaning of this adjuration, especially in its first two ap-

pearances, is a matter of great difference of opinion between scholars; yet it serves to give us the author's plan in his poem. It appears twice in the first part, and twice in the second. And it is a most remarkable and significant fact that the contexts in which it appears are essentially similar in the two parts. The order of the contexts in the first part, however, is inverted in the second. These facts we will now proceed to indicate. In chap. ii, 7, we read:

> I adjure you,
> O daughters of Jerusalem,
> By the roes and the hinds of the field,
> To awaken and to arouse
> Love until it delights.

If we inquire what purpose these four lines serve we find our clew in the three preceding lines, which are:

> Because I pined for love,
> His left hand was beneath my head,
> And his right hand embraced me.

These last two lines are found without change in chap. viii, 3, where they are followed by a variation of the adjuration, thus:

> I adjure you,
> O daughters of Jerusalem,
> To awaken and to arouse
> Love until it delights.

The peculiar and similar use of these verses in the two places can scarcely be accidental, even though no other confirmation of their serving the author's purpose were possible. In chap. iii, 5, we find the second appearance of the adjuration in the first part. The form is identical with its first appearance. These words are found immediately preceding:

> I sought him whom my soul loveth,
> I sought him and found him not.
> The watchmen found me,
> Those going about the city.

If, now, we turn to chap. v, 8, we will find the adjuration in the following form:

> I adjure you,
> O daughters of Jerusalem,
> If ye find my beloved,
> To show to him
> That I travail in love.

It is not in the scope of this article to discuss the significance of the variation in form of the adjuration as it appears here. We are concerned merely with the words which here precede it. These words are:

> I sought him, but found him not;
> I called him, but he answered not.
> The watchmen found me,
> Those who go about the city.

The likenesses, as well as differences, between this occurrence and that in chap. iii, 4, 5, will strike one immediately. The following inferences from these two may be fairly drawn: (1) that in both the author purposed to direct attention to a similar pursuit, the search after the Beloved; (2) that the watchmen were friendly in the one instance and hostile in the other; (3) that in the one case the Beloved was soon found, but that in the other the search was prolonged. Having indicated the essential likenesses in the circumstances introducing the occurrences of this adjuration in part first and part second respectively, we may reasonably conclude that, to the author's mind, there was a great similarity in the conditions existing and events celebrated in each part. But the order in the two parts is different.

We may now gather up into a compact statement the results obtained from a consideration of the various uses of this adjuration. In part first, she who loves and pines for love hears the voice of her Beloved. The adjuration is introduced first between the expression of consuming desire for the Beloved and the hearing of his voice, bidding her to "come away." She who loves obeys his voice and leaves and seeks and finds; and then is introduced the second adjuration. Turning now to part second, we find her who loves seeking her Beloved and finding him not, and the victim of cruel treatment while engaged in her search. At this point the adjuration is introduced for the first time in part second. At last he is found; and then, not the Beloved, but she who loves, gives the invitation and says, "Come, my Beloved, let us go forth." It is evident, therefore, that the author regards the contexts in which he places these adjurations as of vital importance, and that there is a sort of parallelism between the occurrences in part first and those in part second.

The author has employed a singular couplet twice, once in each part; and he indicates by the lines another feature in his Song which he desires especially to emphasize and to hold before our attention. This couplet is:

> While the day breathes,
> And the shadows flee away.

We find these two lines in chaps. ii, 17, and iv, 6. They are associated in the first part with a declaration of mutual and devoted love made by her who loves. She says:

> My Beloved is mine,
> And I am his;
> Who shepherds among the lilies,
> While the day breathes,
> And the shadows flee away.

In this way the author tells us, in the first part of his poem, of a time of completest devotion; but there follows a time when the Beloved departed. This is near the close of the first part. Almost at the opening of the second part we find the second appearance of the couplet:

> While the day breathes,
> And the shadows flee away,
> I will go to the mountain of myrrh
> And to the hill of frankincense.

But this is spoken by the Beloved himself; and after this assertion of union and communion there follows a departure, not of the lover, but of her who loves. It is evident that the author has in mind two periods, distinct, yet with many important resemblances.

We now present our analysis of the poem. As was stated earlier in this article, we regard the principals in the poem to be Jehovah and his chosen people. The analysis is as follows:

PART FIRST, CHAPS. I–III, 6. A POETIC REVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE TO THEIR ESTABLISHMENT IN THE LAND OF PROMISE.

Prologue, chap. i, 2–4. A confession on the part of the people of Jehovah's call, guidance, and establishment of them.
First recitative, chap. i, 5–6.
First dialogue, chap. i, 7–11.
Second recitative, chap. i, 12–14.

Second dialogue, chaps. i, 15–ii, 3.
Third recitative, including the call of the Lover, chap. ii, 4–15.
Fourth recitative, including the obedience of the loved one, chaps. ii, 16–iii, 6.

PART SECOND, CHAPS. III, 7–VIII, 7. A POETIC REVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE FROM THEIR ESTABLISHMENT TO THEIR CAPTIVITY AND RETURN.

First recitative, chaps. iii, 7–v, 1, including the joy of the Lover in his loved one.
First dialogue, chap. v, 2, 3.
Second recitative, including the inquiry after the Beloved, chap. v, 4–8.
Second dialogue, chaps. v, 9–vi, 13.
Third recitative, an utterance of the Beloved, chaps. vi, 13 (last two sentences) to vii, 9.
Fourth recitative, an utterance of the loved one, chaps. vii, 10–viii, 5 (first sentence).
Epilogue, confession by the Lover of attachment to the loved one, chap. viii, 5–7.

It is now incumbent upon us to indicate other writings in Scripture where there is a resemblance to this mode of portraying the peculiar bond of love which united Jehovah and his chosen people. There are two singular prophecies in Hosea which are examples of an earlier use of an imagery similar to that found in this poem. The first example to which we refer is in the third chapter of Hosea. Here the prophet marries a strange woman, and, after her faithlessness, accords to her a kind and unexpected treatment, restoring her at last to wifehood. She is made to represent the chosen people; and the prophet's course is representative of Jehovah's treatment of Israel in her backsliding and sin. This example is very brief. The other is found in the second chapter of Hosea. Here the chosen people is regarded as Jehovah's loved one; yet she leaves him and seeks other lovers. It is prophesied how Jehovah will discipline her, until she returns and says, "My Husband!" If part of the history of the peculiar people is presented under the imagery of conjugal affection, it cannot surprise us that, later, the whole of their history, until the return from exile, should be given under the imagery of a lover and his loved one. Such a presentation is made in the Song of Songs.

There are two examples in the later literature which we should keep in mind as we study this exquisite poem. The twenty-third psalm is one. Canticles is replete with the thought of the lover in the character of a shepherd. His shepherding care stands out most signally. The language is witness to a joy so fresh and ecstatic that one is carried away by its sweet ex-

travagance. On the contrary, there is a quiet calm in the twenty-third psalm, resulting partly from the occasion which gave it birth. But we see mirrored in briefest epitome the whole of Canticles in the words, "The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want." The second example is found in the series of three psalms beginning with the one hundred and fourth. In them is a majestic review of Jehovah's dealing with the children of Israel from the beginning. It is reflective, rather than emotional, in its language; it is an argumentative, rather than an idyllic, expression of his care and love. Yet it confirms our statement that the history of this people in regard to their relations with Jehovah was a favorite theme with writers before and after the captivity and exile.

Our study has convinced us that the Song of Songs is a production of the exile. It is a joy-song, throbbing everywhere with enthusiastic love. It is a song of the Beloved and his love; and the Beloved is Jehovah, and his loved one his chosen people. Herein rests the poem's dignity and beauty and charm. Its every description glows with the choicest words of the Hebrew language. It is, besides, one of the most symmetrical and artistic pieces of writing in Scripture. Its characters do not constitute a complicated group of personages; there are no strained dramatic situations; it is recitative or dialogical throughout. Love is its theme, but it is a love divine. It may have suggested to Paul the phrase "in the Beloved" (Eph. i, 6), and to John the definition that God is love. And it will aid the inquiring heart to understand that great mystery—the love of God for us.

W. W. Martin

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

A NEAR relative of John G. Whittier wrote an article on future probation, which was in part as follows:

Neither the theory of probation after death, now prominently advocated, nor the final condemnation of honest and good heathen from whom the outward knowledge of Christ and his salvation has been withheld, appears to be supported by Scripture. Accepting the declaration of the apostle Paul, that "the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men," and that of Peter, when he said, "God is no respecter of persons: but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him," Friends do not consider the heathen as inevitably lost, but, rather that, in common with professing Christians, they are individually responsible for the right use of opportunities granted them, and not for those providentially denied; that they who, without the law, are a law unto themselves, showing the work of the law written in their hearts, will be judged as they are true to the measure of light bestowed; and that they who are faithful in the occupancy of their one talent or privilege, no less than they who have been favored with five talents, will hear at last the gracious words of their Lord, "Well done, good and faithful servant."

Holding these views, Friends have never felt in their mission work the embarrassment experienced by the missionary Robert Hume, who states that he found his service among the heathen in India seriously obstructed and his usefulness impaired while teaching in accordance with the doctrine that all their ancestors who had died in heathenism were subjects of everlasting punishment. From Friends' standpoint it is very easy to perceive that this difficulty in the heathen mind would be satisfactorily met by presenting to them the biblical revelation of the Father as a God of love, mercy, and justice, who deals with them as with us, rewarding their obedience and punishing their disobedience. This would furnish a strong incentive to their acceptance of the Gospel, and open to the blessings of Christianity the door of many hearts which might be closed against much of the present teaching. And this doctrine by no means operates to "cut the nerve of missionary effort" on the part of Christians.

The author of the above extract, who was as intimately conversant as anyone with Whittier's literary and religious thoughts, wrote in 1887 to Josiah W. Leeds: "As to the personal views of which thee speaks, Whittier read and approved my little article on 'Future Probation,' remarking that he was glad I felt like reviving what he conceived to be the view of Friends upon the subject. With his strong revulsion of feeling from the old, hard Calvin-

ism of New England, it is not much to be wondered at if his writings may almost seem tending to the opposite extreme; but I am confident he would advocate nothing which he regarded as conflicting with the belief of Friends and the teachings of the Scriptures."

LEADERS AND PROPHETS.

Some leaders are such by express selection, their own or that of their fellows; others are such without selection, and nobody seems to know, least of all themselves, that they are filling the office. Of the first class Mr. McAllister, in New York, and Mr. Worth, in Paris, have recently passed away. The worlds they led concern only small minorities of mankind and minor interests of life. A Worth costume or a McAllister social recognition could be dispensed with without detriment to character, opportunity, culture, or health; they concerned nothing essential. And yet what a real empire fashion and society may become! The leader is always present in them, though frequently unknown. Why, for example, are our hats of one shape this year and of another the next? The styles in women's gowns are not changed of themselves or by any conventions assembled to consider them. On the contrary, conventions break down in the struggle to modify the decrees of an invisible leadership.

It is easy to say there are no leaders, because we cannot name them. Easy it also is to conjecture that certain tendencies run of themselves a certain course. The gown sleeve grows to a certain size, and then declines to simplicity. But it is likelier that some skilled leaders preside invisibly over the development. For it is the nature of all successful leadership to lead where followers wish to go. The other kind of leader, who drives where men do not wish to go, is not a leader. He may be something vastly better—a prophet, for example. Wendell Phillips had prophetic fire, but he led nothing. And, since leaders merely head processions of men moving whither they wish, we are apt to say there are no leaders or that the leader is merely the first man in the line.

Were George Washington and Abraham Lincoln leaders? Surely they were. An easy proof is that the people followed Washington and Lincoln, and did not follow others. But neither professed that office, and each had a score or more of associates who were confident that they themselves were leading the people. Leading men against their wishes is impossible; and leading as they wish seems not to be a high office. But the

seeming is false. There is a higher office—that of illumination. But when leadership has come to be required the hour of illumination is finished. The people must act upon the light they have received and the purposes it has shaped. To lead now requires a large mind, capable of perceiving, in a mass of tendencies, the one which masters all the rest. It requires a tactful mind, because every man thinks well of his own choice of means; and the leader must select again the favorite or preferred method. This kind of selection goes on daily. New choices of means must be made at every turn of road; and the leader must select the one which will be accepted by all. If he once chooses wrongly he may have no chance to revise his record. Lincoln made many mistakes; but his bad choices were never his own—they were what people wanted at the moment. Each new choice of means provoked opposition, but was generally approved; so that the mistakes were not his. On the other hand, look at a long procession of leaders in New York politics. One might name a half dozen who have long held the office of leadership in Lincoln's way. But the great majority of these political leaders—and all the brilliant ones—have had a short tenure of office, and have ended by trying to lead where their followers refused to go. Say that they became prophets, rising to the higher office, and nothing is changed—they failed as leaders by refusing to go the people's way.

In politics every orator and every editor is certain that he knows just what the people want. In fact, they must be nearly all wrong, because they differ vociferously. Sometimes, we suspect, nobody knows what the people want; and at such times a great leader helps to formulate desires and combine tendencies. These are the greatest leaders, and examples need not be given. Doubtless prophet and leader were combined in Moses. Perhaps, though it is not certain, a few other men have combined the two offices. Mainly, the two are not in the same relations to their public. The prophet's theme is what we ought to do. The leader's theme is the best way to reach what we want. Prophets are leaders for a day. Elijah led the slaughter of the priests of Baal. But next day Jezebel was in full possession of a power before which Elijah fled. Savonarola led for a brief season; but a worse state came upon Florence afterward. Prophets are usually poor leaders, perhaps because mankind will not be led contrary to character, impulse, and tendencies longer than through some enthusiastic hour.

If we desire leadership for any purpose—and we are always wanting it for many purposes—we want a man capable of finding out what can be done here and now, the character, history, and affections of the people being such as they actually are. He must also be able to suggest a method which the people will accept. Above all, he must not be a "boss"—that is to say, a dictator. The road to extinction lies through bossism. If one reads that a leader has imposed his will upon a body of followers—required them to do what they wish not to do—it may be taken as a resignation of his office.

Trying to follow prophets may take us to Horeb. Some reforms are gaining but slowly, because prophets are leading. For example, might not an advance march in temperance be made if a good leader should arise to study out just what an effectual majority of the temperance people will ardently support? The notion that something less than a full round "ought" may be wisest, because that less will command majorities, was very distasteful to all the prophets of Lincoln's time. The prophets poured out their impatient wrath upon him. He was only a leader; but he brought us through our Red Sea. The prophets have long led the temperance columns; but to what great and abiding victories? We do not despair. We live in hope, we continue in prayer. The one thing lacking appears to be a leadership which can unify the forces and bring them solidly to battle. It will come.

HUMAN SOCIETY AS IT WAS, IS, AND SHALL BE.

Human society, we are assured, began—in intimate fellowship with the Creator, and with a clear possibility of indefinite increase—in the persons of Adam and Eve, the created social dual-unit. In the development of its powers moral and physical evils have played a mischievous and malignant part, attempting to thwart the gracious purpose of that Power, "from which all things proceed and by which all things are upheld," in whose presence the last analysis of science leaves us. Good and evil, desperately contending, are apparent in the conditions and movements of human society under all its phases. Rapidly increasing in numbers, it rapidly differentiates in industrial pursuits. Agriculturists and shepherds exchange their respective products. Artisans and mechanics multiply. The symphonies of ideal association are rudely voiced by those who "handle the harp and organ." Naval architectural skill is evidenced by the building

of the ark, which bears the eight parents of all succeeding generations; and reason and capacity for concerted action are demonstrated in its construction. Worship, in conformity to the divinely revealed will, consists in bloody sacrifice. Therein the worshipers confess their consciousness of corruption, their desire for holiness, and their trust in God's mercy. The worship brings peace, purity, and moral power to every spiritual and truthful suppliant. It lays in families, clans, tribes, states, and nations of kaleidoscopic changefulness the foundations of permanent and advancing civilization.

Portions of society, as before, so since, the deluge, yield to inborn evil and become materialistic, sensual, and militant. Crime is socially centrifugal, segregative, and brutalizing. It forces into fierce and endless struggle with wild beasts and wilder men for the means of existence. It estops social progress. Not in these degraded and wretched beings—as prejudiced scientists rashly conclude—are the beginnings of modern society found. Not from the rude weapons and implements of savages have developed the marvelous machineries which convert the world into one vast workshop, wherein all the forces of nature submissively toil to supply social wants. Not from the grotesque ghost theories and ancestor worship described by Herbert Spencer have sprung the great religious faiths of the heathen, much more the system of biblical revealed religion, which is in essential concord with all the facts of the universe. In biblical light the historical connection of the whole with events in the forfeited paradise is clear. Selfishness has ever been in conflict with altruism; and in correspondence with its prevalence or decline has been the littleness or greatness, the woefulness or welfare of the people. Discontent, it is true, is the mother of improvement, rivalry the condition of progress, stress and strain the safeguard against degeneration. Perfect happiness is not of this life; but in the true striving for it is the potency of all that is best in life and the promise of that which is perfect in the future. The track of humanity in its march through time is checkered by cloud and fire and tempest. It is strewn with the wreck of peoples, races, and civilizations in which the truths of revelation had been willfully obscured, and living embodiment of them almost wholly absent. Where these are not communities perish; where they are is found the survival of the strongest and fittest.

How to hold fast that which is good and to augment the holding is the principal thought of all who wisely love themselves.

It is the spring of judicious exertion. It creates appetite that cannot be satisfied by worldly contents as they are, that longs for the heavenly bliss. It inspires and fixes the conviction that the interest of the self is the interest of the not-self, and that the well-being of all is the safety of each. Self-loving, not selfish, it is the chief factor in a socialism scriptural but not Saint Simonian, co-operative, and wholly beneficent. Churches, theologies, literature, receiving with intelligent obedience their religion and ethics from the God and Father of all, have found in them the practical solution of all social problems. Nor have these been ultrarational, much less irrational, in application of them. He who is immanent in all things while transcending all things, who guides the stars in their courses and qualifies microbes for their mission, may certainly be expected to guide beings created in his own likeness to their designed end.

Human society as it is now, in the family, Church, corporation, State, and in international relations, is as vast an improvement over what existed in the days of the Christ and his apostles as that was over the tribal groups, small or large, in which militancy was chronic, sensuality shameless, and good morals nearly extinct. Such communities are sadly numerous in many sections of the globe to-day. They need the light and power which raised Greece to the zenith of polite civilization, Rome to the mastership of the world, and Judea to supremacy in religion and morals. They need that glorious Gospel of the divine love, through Jesus of Nazareth, which has invested human life with priceless worth, inculcated reverence for the individual as the temple of the Holy Ghost, and taught the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, and equality of rights under divine and human law ; that Gospel which broke the shackles of slavery, mitigated the horrors of war, abolished the inhumanities of the arena, prohibited infanticide, disenthralled womanhood, and made the wife and mother the beloved companion of her husband and the guide of her children ; that Gospel which has sapped the foundations of the feudal system, stricken caste with paralysis, incited to emigration, built up new nationalities in the world's waste places, and crowned the American republic with the glorious gift of government of, by, and for the people. Evangelical beliefs are the source and strength of all beneficent modifications.

Yet complaints are rife in best governed and most prosperous society that its arrangements and conditions are faulty, corrupt, narrow, illogical. And the truth in these complaints must be con-

ceded. Neither singly nor collectively is man perfect in character or adjustment to circumstance. If there were no hope of better things on this planet the late Professor Huxley said that he "should hail the advent of some kindly comet which would sweep the whole affair away as a desirable consummation." Yet some of the spokesmen of science would aggravate the miseries, real or alleged, of this sorrowful world by destroying its religious beliefs, without offering, or having to offer, any of their own. Macaulay's contrast between the England of 1685 and the England of 1853 reveals the indebtedness of his native land to the Protestant faith, and to that faith particularly as wrought into active energy by the apostolic ministry of the Wesleys and their Methodist itinerants. Since then applied science has revolutionized industry, yoked steam and electricity to improved machinery, developed commerce, drawn the race into closer touch by railways, telegraphs, and telephones, and supplied a larger measure of the value to mankind of the spirit and ethics of the Lord Jesus Christ. "The social question is at bottom a religious question." Christ is to be in reality more and more the light and life of the world. His rule is unalterably grounded in the reason of things. Who doubts that, if his two great commandments—the Golden Rule, and the new commandment—"As I have loved you, that ye also love one another"—entered into society as the soul enters into the body, society would enjoy peace and blessing of millennial quality? Stress and strain would still be in that life. Rivalry in all good words and works would be there—a rivalry in which would be utmost freedom and a sincere rejoicing when others exceed our noblest achievements, because of the glory that accrues to the Master and the good that comes upon men.

Human society as it shall be may, in some true measure, be conjectured from what of melioration has been already wrought out in its spirit, principles, and characteristics. With iridescent, oriental eloquence the prophets labored to portray what they foresaw. In statesmanly, philosophic, matchless style our Lord spoke of his kingdom—of its spirit, its truth, its power, its triumphs, its imperial consummation. Paul looked forward with faith unconquerable to the gathering together "in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth," of which he wrote to the Ephesian and other churches. And religious beliefs, harmonious with most reasonable and spiritual interpretations of "God's word written," recognizing the unity in diversity of all created things, appreciating the importance of the moral law, and

instinct with the Holy Spirit's energy, will continue to be the evolutionary forces of society. They ignore national and racial boundaries, bind differentiated units into one grand whole by means of deep and pure affection, and crown our Saviour Lord of all. They make loyal, loving, incorruptible patriots; effective philanthropists; altruists who sacrifice individual welfare in the present for the welfare of others, flood the depths of want with boundless charities, infuse sensitive sympathy with the sufferings of friends and strangers, proffer equal rights to those who need, hold surplus of wealth for those who lack, and raise self-loving, as well as altruistic, feeling to the highest degree of efficiency. The poor and the toilers are in vastly better state at the close than at the commencement of the century. And still they are not contented. Neither are the rich—the very rich, perhaps, least of all. Nor ought any to be content with earthly good and passing environment. The true conviction deepens that nothing but God and heaven can fill an immortal soul. Social evolution is distinctively religious in character. "The age must ever grow more and more religious," differentiating into more positive individualities, yet united into one composite Christian personality "distinct as the billows, but one as the sea," to be ideally perfected at the resurrection in the new heavens and earth in which dwelleth righteousness.

ABOUT READING.

While reading is one of the oldest of the arts and, it may be thought, one of the simplest, it is, nevertheless, so closely intertwined with every part of present-day life, and contains such profound possibilities of good or ill, that no topic can at any time be more timely, none more worthy of careful consideration. It has been often treated; yet the last word has by no means been said, nor ever will be, since each revolving month brings some changed conditions, and each individual critic views the situation from a slightly different point of view. Only as all the conditions are grasped and all the view points combined can complete wisdom be gained.

If we were asked to state the most marked features of the years now passing, so far as concerns this theme, we should name the dominance of the newspaper and the novel, the cheapness of standard literature, and the growth of free public libraries. This last encouraging sign of the times is not yet by any

means so widely and strongly in evidence as might be wished; but in the more advanced sections of the country few towns are now without this means of diffusing culture, and handsome library buildings, either the gift of private munificence or provided by an enlightened public policy, appear on every hand. We are glad to note also the extending custom of connecting the public libraries in various ways with the public school system, so that these large collections of books, controlled by specially trained managers, may be made subsidiary to the instruction of the millions, very much in the same way as the libraries of universities are to the instruction of the few. Indeed, the public schools themselves in very many cases now have libraries under their own roofs, and the teachers make much of this additional means of wholesome training. All of which is very cheering, and bodes well for the growth of intelligence in the rising generation.

It is also an excellent thing that good books can be bought at such very low figures. No one who is raised at all above the lowest dregs of poverty need, in these days, be without a library of his own—a library which shall contain some of the choice treasures of literature and in whose presence he can "hold high converse with the mighty dead." For a dime, or even a nickel, he may absorb the thoughts of the greatest men that have blessed the ages. No one can now complain that the means of education are beyond his reach. He may be debarred from elegant bindings and from the ripest results of modern research; but a plentiful supply of healthful mental food is easily accessible, and he may revel in intellectual riches that once only wealth could procure.

Both these items are gratifying. But can we look with equal satisfaction on the enormous increase of influence which recent years have given to the novel and the newspaper? There are, to be sure, some very evident drawbacks. There is too much reading of newspapers. It may, indeed, be claimed that the masses who confine themselves to this daily diet have tastes for only this, and would not read at all were this denied them. Granting this, and granting also that many who begin thus at the bottom acquire a taste for something higher and are thus led on to literature, we are still disposed to think that there is far too much dependence on this diluted, if not tainted, food among great numbers who are really capable of better things. It is a temptation much too readily yielded to.

We the more deplore the marked ascendency of newspaper influence in the popular mind of to-day, because that influence, from a religious or even a moral standpoint, is very seriously polluted. To say nothing now of the mendacious and mischievous course pursued by partisan sheets in hotly contested political campaigns, whereby evil passions and narrow prejudices are sedulously fostered, two other even more damaging charges must be brought against the American press. Who does not know that, with rare exceptions, it is, on the one hand, utterly subservient to the liquor power and, on the other hand, positively antagonistic to the Lord's day. It cannot, we think, be doubted that the Sunday newspaper is one of the chief influences most actively at work in breaking down the barriers which separate the Lord's day from the secular days of the week, and so destroying an institution which is among those most essential to the best life of the nation. It will scarcely be questioned that, if the Sundays are turned into times for mere pleasure taking and money-making, our decadence as a people will be swift and terrible. But the Sunday newspaper is exactly in line with this decadence and is steadily producing it. Simply through greed of gain, and without the slightest basis of necessity, it is setting at defiance in this matter the laws of God and man. It is plainly allying itself with whatever tends to debase and destroy. For the character of the reading in the mammoth sheets (extending sometimes to forty, and even fifty, pages and containing nearly twice as much matter as the whole New Testament) is precisely such as might naturally be expected. Mr. Richard H. Dana, of Cambridge, after examining twenty-one of these papers, gathered from the ten leading cities of the Union for the purpose of reporting upon them to the Episcopal Church Congress in Boston a few months ago, expressed himself with great vigor as to the demoralizing nature of the contents. He says that after each sitting devoted to the irksome task of perusing the stuff he felt as though he needed to take a bath. Only two papers out of the twenty-one had anything like a serious bit of church reading, and this constituted only about one one-hundreth part of the paper. He bears plain testimony, as must every other candid man, to the fact that such reading as these Sunday papers supply destroys the appetite "for anything ennobling or elevating, whether in religion, in poetry, in philosophy, in biography, whether in church, or at home, or in the open air."

An even stronger indictment must be pressed against the daily

papers, because they not only fail to fight that sum of all villainies, the organized and legalized liquor power, but are, in fact, its chief bulwark, doing probably more than any other one thing to counteract the endeavors being made by godly men to rouse public sentiment against its gigantic iniquity. The press is very heavily subsidized in the interests of this irretrievably bad business. Not only are very large sums paid for advertisements, whereby the editorial pen is virtually paralyzed, but it has been substantiated by the best of evidence that, in every contest where the traffic feels itself at all imperiled, still more direct bribes are offered by it to all the leading journals, and under some form or another are generally taken. So the people are systematically hoodwinked, and the chains of the saloon are riveted afresh on the neck of a deceived public. When the newspapers of the land show such lamentable lack of principle as this, when they are willing thus to conspire with the worst of men against the true interests of the State, the real liberties of the republic, when they are ready to promote ignorance, vice, brutality, and crime merely to increase their profits, lovers of humanity and of Deity can scarcely rejoice at the power of the press. It is not a power that makes for righteousness. Newspapers should be read sparingly and skeptically, with many precautions against their mischievous tendency, and prompt, outspoken protests when they too glaringly violate good manners or good morals. They may very fairly represent a certain large section of public opinion—not the best section; but they are far from being fit to guide or mold opinion, and need constant correction by a higher standard than that which they follow.

What of the novel? No one with any brains would dream at the present day of indiscriminately denouncing all fiction. A great deal of the most beneficent literature—such as promotes appreciation of the true, the beautiful, and the good, inculcates devotion to lofty ideals, and even delineates religion in attractive guise—is thrown into story form. Very few preachers of the Gospel have accomplished as much in the pulpit as have some most earnest Christian men and woman—to name a few out of many, Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, Mrs. Elizabeth Payson Prentiss, Miss Charlotte M. Yonge, Mrs. Mulock-Craik, Mrs. Alden, Dr. George Macdonald—through the instrumentality of what, in one sense, may be called novels or fictitious narratives, and yet in reality are but artistic presentations of certain carefully selected and arranged facts of human nature. Lessons of purity, self-

sacrifice, and heroism are most skillfully taught and indelibly impressed by their volumes. Certainly, imagination is a good gift of God; and that he intended it to be employed in the instruction of the race is sufficiently evident from the parables of Scripture, as well as from *Æsop's Fables*, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and Shakespeare's immortal dramas.

Novels, then, are allowable, and not to be excluded from the best regulated families or the most rigidly pruned Sunday school libraries. They have an important place to fill in education, enlarging at small expense one's experience of life, widening the horizon, expanding the thought, cultivating the taste. But, in order that these excellent results shall follow, great care must be exercised to read only the best. This rule is imperative. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the evil effects of devoting one's days and nights to the perusal of the trash which so largely fills the news stands. That, of course, must be entirely eschewed. But the best fiction—unexceptionable in point of literary style, animated by a high moral or religious purpose, describing, perhaps, some important phase of social progress, delineating with bright, yet accurate, colors a particular chapter in national history, teaching political truth of highest consequence, revealing choice scenes of domestic life and happy household love—can no more be shut out from any general program of selected readings than can artificially consorted dishes be banished from our tables.

Books may be divided into three classes—books of thought, whose chief use is to discipline the mind; books of knowledge, which impart information ; and books of entertainment, which refresh or relax the spirit when overcharged or wearied with too close attention to affairs. Sometimes a volume will combine two of these excellences. It may impart knowledge in so skillful and pleasing a manner that it at the same time diverts ; or it may do so in such a way as to involve sustained application, and hence be of service for strengthening the intellect. Similarly, in pursuit of science one may quietly stroll on a summer's day through verdant meads and bosky dells, or he may climb a mountain in the teeth of wintry winds.

There are three chief rules about reading: 1. Read with *relish*. Curiosity is as clearly the parent of attention as attention is of memory. The awakening of interest is as necessary a preliminary to good teaching as plowing is to productive sowing. Scourging the mind to an irksome task may on rare occasions be necessary and profitable, but it is not good policy to repeat it often. What

is taken in when the mind is aglow, when it has by some means acquired an eager appetite, will make a much more permanent impression than that which is placed upon a dulled palate or received from a mere sense of duty. Hence reading by topics is generally better than by authors or centuries. Well-written biographies, entertaining travels, and truthful adventures should be freely supplied to the young until they are sufficiently mature for that which is more solid and difficult.

2. Read with *reflection.* This applies somewhat even to books of entertainment, and is absolutely essential where those of the two higher classes are concerned. The mere act of reading will not be followed by lasting good, any more than the mere act of eating. What is taken into the mind must be meditated on and talked about until it becomes completely assimilated with previous stores and made one's very own. The process of transformation may and must go on until the thoughts and facts received are no longer foreign substances, but have become thoroughly incorporated with the intellectual system. Various things will help this. Notes can be taken and abstracts made. This will greatly assist review, which is of primary importance. Friendly discussion about the things read is also of great value. Nothing clarifies one's ideas and gives point to one's opinions so quickly as an endeavor to make them plain to others or to uphold them in argument against an objector.

3. Read for *results.* Results will come very largely in proportion to the clearness of the purpose and the steadiness of the aim with which the undertaking is pursued. He who works up a subject with the design of presenting it in a systematic form in an essay, a lecture, an article, a pamphlet, a book, or a debate before some association will take hold of it with a zeal otherwise unattainable, and will feel little fatigue after great labor. He has before him a definite end; and in this there is much stimulus. Random reading, on the other hand, rarely yields results, and is in most cases little better than a waste of time. It should certainly not be made the staple of one's days.

Happy the man who has learned how to eat paper and drink ink. Most happy he who has fully grasped the thought that through books he can have the range of the best company in the world. There is no society so select but he may enter it with this magic lamp. It will bring him, even from other lands and ages, those that held themselves most carefully aloof from all familiar intercourse with the common throng. These intellectual aristocrats

may be made, for a few cents, to utter in our ears their most brilliant sayings. We can have them with us when we please and as long as we like, and when we get tired of them they can be dismissed without rudeness. We can summon Plato from Greece, Cicero from Rome, Bacon, Browning, Tennyson from England, and they will come. We can drink in their wisdom, delight ourselves with their pleasantry, and be filled with their society.

The lover of books has an unfailing resource. Rainy days do not grieve him. He finds solace amid the heat of summer and the cold of winter. The loss of friends does not leave him friendless. He can make new acquaintances even in old age, and he can at any time renew his intercourse with those that were dear to him long ago. Gibbon's declaration, "My early and invincible love of reading I would not exchange for the treasures of India," has found an echo in many a breast. A few well-selected books carefully read, thoroughly chewed and digested, go far to constitute a good education. Books are the tools of those who work in the realm of mind. He who has learned how to use them to the best advantage has multiplied his power a thousandfold. Good reading—by which we do not mean elocution, but the power to get out of a book all there is in it, if not more—is almost as rare as good writing.

The day of better Christian experience in our churches will dawn when church members in general find out what an invaluable help to growth in grace is contained in devotional books. When the holiest men and women have embalmed themselves in print so that their remains have come down even to distant generations, when the distilled and concentrated extract of their thinking and living for half a century has been poured into a small, convenient phial for our daily use, when what God has taught them, as they have lain prostrate before him for many a weary night or served him in the thick of combat for many a fateful day, has been put into type and passed on to us, we show little wisdom if we are unwilling to spend some portion of our time and funds in the acquisition and enjoyment of the rich legacy. Spiritual reading is the oil which feeds the lamp of prayer. It is the mother of devout meditation, without which no character can grow solid and strong. And the high place of reading in every true life is sufficiently vindicated once for all in the great fact that it is by the study of the book of books—not the mere formal perusal, not the careless conning of chapters, not the routine, regulation recital of verses—that we become wise unto salvation.

THE ARENA.

THE KINGDOM OF GOD.

PLEASE permit a layman to suggest a few thoughts on the doctrine of the kingdom of God, as defined and taught by "the people called Methodists," and also by the greater part of the Christian denominations. I am led up to this writing by certain frequent utterances in our assemblies by ministers and others, who seem to regard this kingdom as a condition of the heart, utterly ignoring its future territorial and glorious aspects. Cradled in Methodism, I, of course, know what Methodists think and teach on these lines; but after many years' prayerful study of God's word I am persuaded that we do not fully understand, if we do not wholly misunderstand, the glorious truth that the Saviour would have us learn through his use of the phrase "the kingdom of God."

According to the accepted view all Christians are now in the kingdom, or the kingdom is in Christians. May I ask, then, Why did our Saviour teach us to pray, saying, "Thy kingdom come?" Does Christ expect to make no better conquest of the world than what we now see in so-called Christian lands? Is not the wealth of the world in the hands of worldly men? Were the Armenian Christians, so recently assassinated, in the kingdom of God? Were the slaughtered apostles and holy martyrs in the kingdom of God? Is such a kingdom, exposed to the bloodthirsty violence of tyrants, "the hope of our calling?" Did Jesus have no better climax of joy to offer as an encouragement to his disciples when he informed them that many should come from the east and west and should sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven? Have we not missed the true definition of the kingdom in our anxiety to have men converted and to give importance to the Church? John the Baptist preached, saying, "The kingdom of heaven is at hand." He did not say it was here, but at hand. Jesus sent the twelve forth to preach the same Gospel. The twelve were not in the kingdom, neither was the kingdom in the twelve; it was a future event—"at hand." Jesus informed the apostles that they would be hated, scourged, imprisoned, and put to death. Does that look like being in the kingdom of heaven? It looks rather as if the apostles were in an enemy's land. But the Saviour promised that "he that endureth to the end shall be saved." They came out of great tribulation, not out of the kingdom of heaven—those who had on the white robes and palms in their hands, as seen by John in vision. Did not our Saviour instruct all his disciples to seek first the kingdom? But if Methodist doctrine is true the disciples had the kingdom already in their hearts. Then why seek it?

We are told that the Church, also, is the kingdom of God. This is often affirmed by scholarly writers and preachers; but the Bible nowhere calls the Church the kingdom. Two separate and distinct terms are al-

ways employed when Church and kingdom are mentioned. In the New Testament the Church is spoken of about one hundred times, but never as a kingdom. The word "kingdom" occurs about one hundred and five times, and never means the Church. The original terms are never used interchangeably. Why, then, do we presume to make them synonymous? The Church is a company of believers in the Lord Jesus Christ who are waiting for his appearing and kingdom. In the series of parables recorded in Matt. xiii concerning the kingdom all have their climax in the final result. It is a harvest, a grown tree, a leavened whole, the end of the world. All other steps were but preparatory, leading up to the grand *finale*—the kingdom of heaven. The mother of Zebedee's children had, in some respects, a proper conception of the nature of the coming kingdom when she requested of Christ that her two sons might sit, the one on his right hand and the other on his left in his kingdom. This is seen by the Saviour's reply: "To sit on my right hand, and on my left, is not mine to give, but it shall be given to them for whom it is prepared of my Father." The baptism of blood must first precede the reign of glory.

The kingdom of God was a literal kingdom on the earth during the Jewish dispensation. The Jewish kingdom was a type of a better kingdom under Christ. It is taken from the Jews and given to a nation—mark the term "nation"—bringing forth the fruits thereof. This nation is yet to be manifested. It will be made up of men of all ranks, colors, and ages, Jew and Gentile, bond and free, learned and illiterate, rich and poor. The kingdom of God is represented by the Saviour in Matt. xxv, in the parable of the ten talents, as being simultaneous with his second advent. His appearing and kingdom are chronologically simultaneous events. The servant is now increasing his talents, if he is faithful, while the employer is traveling in a far country. The reckoning day comes apace. The "well done" is pronounced, and the servant is made a ruler. This teaches the return of our Lord and his coming kingdom. "When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory. . . . Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world." This text shows when the kingdom comes; it is at the judgment. How then can a Christian be in the kingdom now? Christ says in another place, "I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom." This is another text showing that the kingdom is future, and is not the Church, and is not in the hearts of believers. The so-called spiritualizing tendency of our age ignores the literal meaning of these texts and simply regards them as various forms of the same thought—the kingdom of God in our hearts! The literal sense of the Scriptures must always be held, unless the language is manifestly figurative. Prophets, angels, the Lord himself, and his apostles all teach a future kingdom.

If the kingdom of God is in our hearts, why does the apostle James ex-

hort us to patience in the presence of oppression? Are our oppressors our slaves? Peter tells us that our inheritance is reserved in heaven, ready to be revealed in the last times. He does not teach that we have it now in our hearts. Christians are exhorted to diligence in order to secure an abundant entrance into the kingdom. The kingdom is promised to them that love God. James says God hath chosen "the poor of this world rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which he hath promised to them that love him." Daniel tells of terrible persecutions of the saints; but he adds, "The Ancient of Days came, and judgment was given to the saints of the Most High; and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom."

"But," says one, "are we not told that the kingdom of God is righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost?" Yes; these are the characteristics of the kingdom. Napoleon said that the empire was peace, meaning its policy. "But," declares another, "Christ said, 'Is not the kingdom of God within you?'" If we believe that the Pharisees whom the Saviour denounced as hypocrites had the kingdom within them, then may we have it. The proper understanding of that expression is said to be that Jesus, the King, was in their midst. I simply desire to bring the matter to the notice of our denomination for the purpose of securing better instruction in this department of our faith and doctrine. J. DAVISON.

Chicago, Ill.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR IT?

IN some strong words by a writer in the *Literary World*, in which sincere regrets at the recent decease of certain wholesome authors are expressed, we find the following: "There is something very sad in these two, strong for righteousness in their different manners, leaving us now, when books which it is a sin and a shame to write, to publish, or to read are flooding the London book market. There have been some books published here in London this season fouler than any leprosy, and we are threatened with more of the same sort. Sin wrought in passion is evil enough, but at least it is human; but for those who in cold blood write books that will appeal to the basest part of human nature, that will corrupt innocence—for these books are published by reputable publishers and circulated by the libraries—woe to them! I would rather take for my friend a public sinner who had sinned through human frailty and passion than I would touch the hand of these purveyors of vice." These are pretty severe words of censure. Yet, in view of the obvious facts, who shall dare to extenuate the offense, which every book buyer knows, and every guardian of youth ought to know, is "rank and smells to heaven?" If the truth were spread out before us clearly it is to be greatly feared that the fortunes of some book publishers are the price of blood as really as that of any liquor dealer.

Where does the responsibility begin and end? At this rate, may not the time come when it will be safer not to know how to read? Accepting the relation of the book publisher to the book writer to be as that

of the gas company to the carboniferous deposit, is not darkness better than some gas? The tendency to monopoly and the formation of great corporations with many stockholders and subscribers results in a lessening of the sense of personal responsibility as to the methods and product of the book trade. What individual member of certain firms would like to stand at the bar of God and assume the sins of his business house? The statistics of newspaper and paper-covered literature are startling. Really, during the last thirty years the drinking habits of society seem to have improved more than the reading habits. It would be of very great interest to know where publishers draw the line as to the quality of the pabulum furnished to our youth. Have the great circulating libraries a standard of morals at all as to the books available to the public? Or do they throw the responsibility back on the author?

Here we would stop could we forget a recent case in point. In a certain large Sunday school library attention was called to an armful of accepted literature the character of which prohibited its being read in a teachers' meeting composed of both sexes. Can any higher work occupy the pastor's hands to-day than the correction of such evils?

Saratoga, N. Y. HENRY M. SIMPSON.

THE HUMANITY OF CHRIST.

THE following remarks are not intended as an answer to, or as an argument against, others in the same line in previous "Arenas," but are suggested by them. Jesus Christ was both God and man, or else Bible statements bearing upon this subject are a medley of contradictions. As physical man he was of the same material with ourselves—flesh and blood. The germinal seed of his physical and sentient manhood was, however, begotten of the Holy Ghost in the womb of the Virgin; and so he, the "second man," is the "Lord from heaven." This divinely begotten manhood partook in its nature of our humanity through the period of gestation in the mother's womb, and yet was so guarded and kept by the Holy Ghost as to be prevented from moral and physical contamination. Thus Jesus Christ was and is, in his humanity, divinely human. In other words, he was, in all the essentials of manhood, a man begotten of God. The first man, Adam, "of the earth earthy," was a man created of God; the second man, Jesus Christ, was a man begotten of God. Neither of these was under any law of necessity as to sin. Each could have successfully endured the test; but the first man failed, and through him came the woe of sin upon the world, while the second Man stood the test, and through him came redemption to the race unto physical and moral life, and salvation by faith unto eternal life. In this divinely human Man "dwelt all the fullness of the Godhead bodily." Thus God, the infinite and eternal One, was in Christ the divinely human Son; and thus in him we see fulfilled "the mystery of godliness"—that God "was manifested in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached among the nations, believed on in the world, received up in glory."

But was this man Christ Jesus capable of sinning? In undertaking an answer to the question we must keep steadily in mind his twofold nature—the divinely human combined with the essential, indwelling Godhead. Certainly, the Godhead could not have sinned; "He cannot deny himself." If so, then creation would continue to groan and travail in pain and anguish for the eternal ages. But faith, conjoined with revelation, says that "he abideth faithful." And so we rest in the impeccability of the indwelling Godhead; while we are compelled to the conclusion that Jesus Christ, the divinely human Son of God and Son of man, in whom "dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily," must have wrestled with the powers of darkness, against the temptations that beset him to sin against God the Father and to leave undone all that he came to do in the way of a world's redemption and salvation, with a moral force and determination of purpose that had behind them the possibility of failure through a succumbing to the awful pressure that was brought to bear upon him. The soul recoils at the bare contemplation of the possibilities of the case, but finds its refuge and crown of rejoicing in the fact that he did not fail, but marched forward with the step of the mighty Conqueror that he was to the fulfillment of the work the Father gave him to do. In so doing he extorted, even from his enemies, the cry, "Truly this was the Son of God."

With the facts before us as they are, the ground of debate is transferred from that of possibility to that of probability. That he did not sin is clearly evident, that he might have sinned being possible. Still, it was in no sense probable that God the Father could make a mistake in the choice of an agent for the accomplishment of a work of such tremendous moment as the salvation of a ruined world. From God the Father's foreknowledge he knew that Jesus would not fail; but he must have known at the same time that, Jesus being man and thus a moral agent in a state of probation, although for a specific purpose, the possibilities of sinning were with him, as with all moral agents. If the conclusions reached are not correct, where, then, the merit of Christ's atonement? The lambs slain on Jewish altars had no merit, however free from spot or blemish. These were but types. Types of what? Of the Lamb "slain from the foundation of the world." Was that Lamb destitute of intellectual and moral faculties? Was he a mere machine? A moral machine, if there can be such, differs only in kind from other machines. Each does what it has to do perforce—no more, no less. Not so our Christ. As the consciousness of his mission "to seek and to save that which was lost" dawned upon him he set his mind and heart with determined purpose against all the blandishments and enticements of the world, and, treading the wine press alone, accomplished the supreme moral triumph of the ages. Thus through his merits and his atonement he made it possible for men redeemed by his own blood to enter, through faith in him, upon a career of spiritual, moral, and intellectual progress that will end only with eternity's years.

De Land, Fla. J. T. Lewton.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

A NEGLECTED FACTOR IN CHRISTIAN EVIDENCE.

THE age in which we live is critical. It is so hesitant to acknowledge any principles or facts as settled that it might be fitly characterized as a great interrogation point. Its constant question is not, How shall we make use of what we have? but, How shall we best prove that we are absolutely in the dark and possess no truths upon which we can safely rely? This eagerness to disprove what is generally acknowledged has with many persons become almost a passion. The success of many scholars is supposed to consist in the measure in which they have demonstrated how very uncritical our fathers were and how little their arguments and decisions can be justified to modern thought. This results from an unsettled state of thinking on religious truth in general, and has led to a rejection of all religion as too uncertain in its foundations to enter as a forceful element into the life of man. If criticism has not proceeded so far as to reject all possibility of certitude on the most important problems of life and duty and destiny it has, at least, produced an indifference which is widespread and alarming. Dr. Sanday, of Oxford University, England, under the head of "The Present Disquietude," says: "It cannot be denied that there is not a little disquietude and anxiety in the air, and that especially amongst good people. . . . They have recently become aware—more fully aware than they were before—of a considerable change of front among scholars and thoughtful men in regard, primarily, to the Old Testament, but, we might add, also to the New. And the form which this has taken is such as to excite uneasiness and apprehension."

If the effect of this were merely to produce disquietude and nothing more, if it left the "good people" with no loss of their old-time faith in the eternal verities, no loss in spiritual experience and in Christian activity, we might pause before deprecating the attitude of viewing God's word to which allusion has been made. It is apparent, however, that it means more than mere intellectual inquiry and uncertainty. It means a loss of spiritual enjoyment, and raises the question whether there is any religious experience, since there seem to be so few certitudes on which it can rest. This intellectual attitude ignores, too, the primary consciousness which grows out of faith, and counts it as of no value in estimating the historic facts out of which it springs.

The Christian experience is peculiar. There is nothing like it in the world. It has no real parallel among false religions. It is, at first view from an outside standpoint, an emotion produced by certain conditions and environments; but those who possess it know better. They realize a divine impulse, something entirely different from that which comes to them in connection with any other facts. Take, for example, the emotion which springs out of the consideration of the sacrificial death of Christ,

that which in theological language we call the atonement. A critical examination of gatherings of Christians will show that when this doctrine is presented by those whose souls are aglow there is a uniformity of results, inexplicable on any other theory than that this special truth has relation to experiences which are peculiar to itself. The mere view of Christ as a martyr does not produce the same spiritual effect. Nor does the portrayal of the sufferings of those who, in all ages, have given themselves for others produce the kind of experience now under consideration. The emotion thus excited is so unique and universal as to rule it out from the sphere of ordinary phenomena growing out of the consideration of human suffering or human sacrifice. The lives of good men, even that of the Saviour himself when considered by itself, do not produce this spiritual emotion. The conclusion, then, must be that the unique relation of Christ to humanity as the divine Sufferer, as a sacrifice for human guilt, is the source of this experience, and that the scriptural fact and statement on which it rests are thus verified as truth. The constant production of a Christian experience, growing out of the scriptural presentation of the great facts of our religion, is a proof that the statement of facts is correct. We thus arrive at the proposition that the spiritual use of God's word is of importance in ascertaining its certitude and, properly applied, will remove much of the present disquietude among Christians.

The external criticism has been carried to such lengths that the soul life which the word, by the operation of the Holy Spirit, has wrought and the evidence that grows out of it have been overlooked. The old writers on Christian evidences were accustomed to divide them into two classes, the external and the internal. The modern method ignores the latter almost entirely. Is it not time that the pulpit should recall the thoughts of our people from their constant devotion to external evidences to those deep spiritual verities which are the life and power of the Church? What the faith of the Gospel has wrought in the hearts and lives of sinful men is the final argument, from which there can be no appeal; for it is founded on the profoundest principles of our being, it rests on Him whose words are spirit and life.

DEVELOPMENT IN SERMONIC COMPOSITION.

(*Continued.*)

The subject of development as applied to style, which we have already attempted to illustrate from the sermons of the late Dean Stanley, is enforced by the reflection that the wide diffusion of general information in the Church makes this the field best adapted for the expression of the preacher's originality. He may find it his duty to discuss facts or principles which have become commonplaces among the people; but his masterly and, perhaps, unique development of them may invest them with fresh interest. He is like the painter employing familiar objects and, by the lights and shades of his art, giving to that which he portrays a reality which the ordinary observer has never seen in them, although he has

looked upon them a thousand times. It is not expected of a preacher that he shall constantly present to his hearers novel themes. The Gospel is old and familiar, and its heart truths have been known to the people from their childhood. To neglect the eternal verities which are the life of the Church and the homely duties of life which must always be the true life of the Church would be an abandonment of some of the noblest themes of the preacher. Here, again, comes in the value of development. The ordinary duties of life may, when unfolded by a master's hand, become as fresh as if they were a new revelation.

The portrayal of human character, too, gives opportunity for skill in this direction. Much of the preacher's work is the delineation of character. The great names in the early Church are still the most interesting pulpit themes when fully appreciated and portrayed. One needs only to study the sermons of great preachers to observe how much their power for good has been increased by their ability to delineate human character. The power of some men is almost entirely the outgrowth of their skill in this particular.

I select another illustration of Dean Stanley's method of rich and unique development from his sermon on Charles Kingsley, on the text, "Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong" (1 Cor. xvi, 13). "Watch—that is, 'be awake, be wakeful,' have your eyes open, the eyes of your senses, the eyes of your mind, the eyes of your conscience. Such was the wakefulness, such the vigilance, such the devouring curiosity of him whose life and conversation, as he walked among ordinary men, was often as of a walker among drowsy sleepers, as a watchful sentinel in advance of a slumbering host. The diversity of human character, the tragedies of human life were always as to him an ever-opening, unfolding book. But, perhaps, even more than to the glories and the wonders of man he was, far beyond what falls to the lot of most, alive and awake in every pore to the beauty, the marvels of nature. That contrast in the old story of 'Eyes' and 'No Eyes' was the contrast between him and common men. That eagle eye seemed to discern every shade and form of animal and vegetable life. That listening ear, like that of the hero in the fairy tale, seemed almost to catch the growing of the grass and the opening of the shell. Nature to him was a companion, speaking with a thousand voices. And nature was to him also the voice of God, the face of the Eternal and Invisible, as it can only be to those who study and love and know it." Anyone familiar with the writings of Charles Kingsley will at once recognize two things in this extract—the fitness of the text to the man and the keen portrayal of his character.

CONFERENCE EXAMINATIONS.

EDITOR ITINERANTS' CLUB: At its last session the New York East Conference appointed a committee of five of its members to prepare a plan for conducting Conference examinations and to report at the next session. The present writer had the honor to be made chairman of this

committee, and the Rev. Herbert Welch, of 455 Washington Street, Brooklyn, N. Y., was made secretary. All the members of the committee, and the chairman and secretary in particular, will be glad to receive hints and suggestions upon this matter from their brethren in any Conference, especially those Conferences which are using any advanced and progressive methods of examination. I desire to note certain defects in the system at present in use in our own and many other Conferences.

1. *Incompetent examiners.* Oftentimes men wish to be put upon examining committees for no other reason than the honor implied in such an appointment. In consequence of this, it is common to find examiners who are incompetent. It is obvious that the examiners ought in every way to command the respect of the candidates, both in regard to general scholarly attainments and to their familiarity with, and taste for, the special topics under their charge.

2. *Utter absence of proper instructions.* Under the present system a student buys or borrows his books, reads and studies them alone as best he can, and comes up to Conference without the remotest idea of the method his examiners will pursue. Only too often he finds that the examiner has an entirely different idea of a book from his own, and he makes a poor showing or an utter failure on a topic he has tried faithfully to master. Frequently the candidates would even be glad to know whether they are to have an oral or written examination.

3. *Haste in conducting examinations.* A committee has been known to examine a class on a whole year's studies in a session of about three hours. Sometimes only one question is asked each student out of a large and important book. This makes the examination something like a lottery, as an admirable student might easily fail on one question, and a very poor student might get the one thing he happened to know in all the book. But an examiner who likes to make thorough work of his subject is often urged to hurry by his fellow-examiners, who are impatiently waiting for their turn. This trouble is made worse by the nervous condition in which most candidates come to Conference. Another difficulty comes from the growing tendency to double up examinations. This occurs in the securing of earlier ordination as local preachers, and in the cases of those who avail themselves of the recent permission to theological graduates to double up their examinations.

The favorite remedy for the second and third of these defects is found in the device of the Itinerants' Club. The only objection to this is the difficulty of working it. If the examiners and candidates can be brought together in midyear and go through a part of their work, if the candidates can receive instruction in regard to the remainder, much will be gained. But the difficulties in doing this are very great. It is hard for busy men to find the time. In these days, when even Conferences are beginning to pay the board of their members, it is hard to find a place for the gathering. Perhaps it is the hardest of all for the young men, most of whom are on small salaries, to find money for the expenses of the trip.

In a general way this article represents our committee; but for any

specific thing in it, especially anything which may cause adverse criticism, only the present writer is responsible. I also wish, as not even indirectly representing any person except myself, to offer for the consideration of my brethren the following plan, hoping that its defects may be remedied and its merits brought out more clearly by their criticisms.

PLAN FOR CONDUCTING CONFERENCE EXAMINATIONS.

I. 1. There shall be a general examining board, consisting of twenty-four members of the Conference and elected by it. After the first election these examiners shall be divided into four classes, to serve respectively for one, two, three, and four years. As the term of each class expires the Conference shall elect six members to serve for four years, and shall fill vacancies reported at any session of the Conference. The board itself shall have power to fill any vacancy in the membership when necessary to arrange for examinations held before the Conference meets. This board shall have charge of the examinations of all candidates for membership or orders, both traveling and local, except that examinations not in the English language shall be assigned to special committees. If a candidate has passed satisfactorily in any study he shall be excused from examination in that study if it occurs again in another course which he also pursues.

2. The board shall choose a president and secretary from its members, and shall divide all its examinations into departments, assigning enough members to each department to properly care for its work. In making such assignments they shall consider taste and abilities for special work.

3. When an examiner knows the candidates for examination in his department it shall be his duty, during the year, to give them some information in regard to his views of any books in the department and the way in which they should be studied in preparing for the examination.

4. The president of the board shall generally superintend the work of dividing the board into departments and the method of conducting the examinations. The secretary shall keep an accurate record of the examinations and the standing of candidates. The president and secretary are, however, to be examiners in at least one study.

II. 1. The regular examinations shall be held at the session of the Conference, and every candidate shall at that time be examined in at least one half the studies of his year.

2. When any candidate wishes to be examined in a study during the year he may arrange for a meeting with the examiner in such study, and the examiner shall report such examination to the secretary of the board for record and presentation to the Conference.

3. In case the examiner and candidate cannot arrange for a meeting the examiner may send an examination paper to some member of the Conference residing near the candidate, and the candidate may read such paper and write his answers to it in the presence of the member of the Conference, who shall then send the papers to the examiner; and he shall report the result to the secretary as before. FRANK S. TOWNSEND.

Waterbury, Conn.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

DAVID AS A PSALMIST.

Of late years unusual attention has been given to a minute study of the Psalter. Destructive criticism, having spent its force on the historical and prophetical books, has taken in hand to depress the date of this venerable collection by several centuries, so as to make every psalm, not simply post-Davidic, but post-exilic as well. Professor Robertson Smith, though, perhaps, holding that some of the psalms were written by the poet-king, yet informs us, notwithstanding the fact that tradition declares David to be closely connected with the early psalmody of Israel, that "there is little direct evidence to support this conviction." The reason for depressing the date of the Psalms is not far to seek. It is the natural outgrowth of the Pentateuchal or Hexateuchal discussion. If it can be proved that the first six books of the Old Testament were written several centuries after the Exodus, and that the advanced legislation, the complete code of morals, and the lofty tone of religious feeling pervading these books were impossible in the age of Moses or till after the time of David, it will aid materially in demonstrating that the ascription of the grandest and sublimest lyrics of the ages to David and his contemporaries is an unmistakable anachronism. "Church hymns," says Cheyne, "like our Psalms cannot be imagined even in the age of Deuteronomy"—that is, in the seventeenth century before Christ. This learned author assures us, with oracular certainty, that there are only two indubitably Davidic compositions in the entire Old Testament, namely, 2 Sam. i, 19–27; iii, 33–34. Thus, with one stroke of his mighty pen the sweet singer of Israel is unceremoniously pushed aside from Hebrew psalmody. "Putting aside," says he, "Psalm xviii and possibly lines imbedded here and there in the later psalms, the Psalter, as a whole, is post-exilic."

Cheyne, in common with many rationalistic writers, reduces the poet-king to a "man of war" occupying a low spiritual level. He was not "a Church leader, like Zoroaster;" though gifted in music, he was not a psalm writer, for David's fame, we are assured, "rested chiefly upon his secular poetry." He further assures us that neither David nor even Isaiah could have dreamed of Church hymns such as those contained in the Psalter. Then follows the modest admission that he "cannot divide sharply between the age of David and, say, of Isaiah." But, nothing daunted, he adds, "The latter is no Christian, nor is the former a heathen." Kuenen, as might be expected, also maintains that the Psalms, with their sublime teachings so full of the ethical and religious, must be post-Davidic; "for the religion of David was far below the level of the Psalter." Even Driver, perhaps the most conservative of this school, finds it difficult not to feel that many of the psalms ascribed to David "ex-

press an intensity of religious devotion, a depth of spiritual insight, and a maturity of theological reflection beyond what we expect from David or David's age." The burden of the above words is to show that whoever wrote the Psalms must have lived centuries later than David. Why? Because the Psalter presupposes the law. The Pentateuch having been already depressed until at least the time of Ezra, it is necessary to assign an equally late, if not much later, date to the Psalms. Else much of the argument relied upon to prove the late origin of the Pentateuch would be sadly weakened, if not wholly invalidated. This must not be, for it would require a reconsideration of the Pentateuchal question. The Psalter, this oldest of all hymnals, is "the response of the worshiping congregation to the demands made upon men in the law." It is the same old story. The development of literature, no less than of religion, demands a late origin for the Psalms. This radical criticism starts from false premises. Therefore, its conclusions are naturally untrustworthy. It assumes that Israel was not capable of deep communion with God till about the Babylonian captivity, or, indeed, according to the more radical, ages later. Hence the effort of Cheyne and others to assign late dates to every book in the Old Testament.

These same critics likewise unite in insisting that only a very small number of the psalms are the expression of the thoughts and prayers, the hopes and faith, the sorrows and anxieties of the individual soul. They must be regarded, rather, as the experiences of "many men and of many ages of the national life." They are the experiences, not of a separate soul here and there, but of the united Jewish Church. The individual, even though he may speak in the first person, as the "I" or "me," does so as representing or personifying the entire community of pious worshipers. Now, what is gained by this view? Our critics insist that, if it can be shown that the individual element is crowded out, then the Psalms become "national, rather than individual, and must, therefore, belong to an age in which the nation had been welded closely together, an age in which there was unity of thought and unity of aspiration. That this age did not precede the captivity is clear." Granting that the psalmist generally spoke as a representative of the community, we are utterly unable to see why this should prove the post-exilic origin of the Psalms, or how it could overthrow the Davidic origin of every psalm in the collection. It is folly to argue that David's experience was not such as to call forth the outbursts of anguish and despair, of praise and prayer, of joy and exaltation in all and every psalm bearing his name. It is equally groundless to contend that his age could not have produced such gems as the Eighth, Nineteenth, and Twenty-third Psalms. The age of David, with its struggles and trials, with its revival influences under Samuel and his colaborers, and with its glorious triumph, was as well calculated as any period in Jewish history to call forth the highest type of religious truth, all aglow with pious fervor and religious enthusiasm. We need, therefore, not depress the date of the Psalms to the less spiritual times of Persian rule or Maccabean revolution.

Again, is it not a fact that all great writers reflect, more or less, the spirit of their times? Thus, while breathing out their loftiest sentiments, they are merely the spokesmen of the entire people. The individual is swallowed up in the nation. This is true of all literature. The beautiful hymns of Luther and Gerhardt, of Wesley and Watts, though at first the expression of the innermost thoughts and desires of these holy men, have nevertheless something in them that is exceedingly appropriate for believing souls everywhere. So of the matchless songs of David. Though written nearly three thousand years ago on the hills of Judea, they still find a ready response in the heart and innermost soul of the pious, whether on the banks of the Thames or the Congo, whether on the slopes of the Himalayas or on the steppes of Russia. This is because the wants of the human soul thirsting for communion with its Maker are the same everywhere and in all ages. Trials and privations, difficulties and persecutions, aspiration for higher life and communion with God were certainly as common in the age of David as in any age before the advent of our Saviour.

The fatal mistake of this radical school of Old Testament critics is to premise that the sentiments contained in what are generally called the Davidic psalms are of too lofty a nature for the age of David. They are unwilling to open their eyes to the recent discoveries in archæology, which prove most conclusively the advanced stage of civilization at a time long anterior to the reign of David. The monuments of Egypt prove clearly that the world in the times of Moses, yea, long before his time, enjoyed a very high degree of culture, much higher than our radical friends are willing to admit. Late discoveries have agreed in a wonderful manner with the history as given in the Old Testament. Away, then, with the idea that the Hebrew Scriptures are made up of fanciful legends, to be believed or rejected as it suits our purposes. The Old Testament takes it for granted that the Egyptian, Babylonian, and Hittite empires were very powerful in the distant past. The settlement of Egypt is lost in hoary antiquity; but, go back far as we may, we find traces and evidence of much culture among this ancient people. Says Professor Wiedemann, of the University of Bonn, in his recent treatise, *The Ancient Egyptian Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul:* "As far back as Egyptian history has been traced the people appear to have been in possession, not only of written characters, national art and institutions, but also of a complete system of religion. As in all other departments of Egyptian life and thought, so with Egyptian religion—we cannot trace its beginnings. What greatly intensifies the deep interest of Egyptian eschatology is that it testifies to the fact that a whole nation believed in the immortality of the soul four thousand years before the birth of Christ." And if the Egyptians were thus early advanced in their religious ideas, why not the Israelites?

These dwellers of the Nile valley were not a hermit nation, shut up by themselves, for it has been clearly established that there was intercourse between the valleys of the Nile and Euphrates centuries before Abraham—

and that by land and by water. And now comes freshand additional evidence that at least three thousand years ago Egypt and India were connected, not only by an overland route, but also by sea. That trade and literature and diplomacy were in a flourishing state in many countries ages before Moses is a recognized fact. Recent discoveries prove, also, that the Egyptians especially possessed much lyric poetry used for devotion, such as litanies and praises to their gods. Some of these ancient hymns to the sun and the Nile are really excellent. Why, then, should it be thought remarkable, not to say impossible, that David, centuries later, might have written the finest and loftiest of the psalms? Are we to utterly disregard the universal tradition which makes David the father of Hebrew psalmody? How could the ancient Hebrew Church have fallen into error on such a point? Though we may grant that some psalms ascribed to David were not written by him, but belong to a later age, it does not follow that the inscriptions of the entire collection must therefore be rejected, or that David is not the author of a single psalm. That many of these inscriptions are as old as the text itself cannot be doubted. Their great antiquity is attested by the fact that they were unintelligible when the Septuagint translation was made.

It is far too common nowadays, in the discussion of biblical questions, to lose sight entirely of the doctrine of inspiration. It is a cardinal mistake to try to account for the superiority of the Bible to the sacred writings of other nations without seeing the guiding hand of Jehovah in its production. If we view the writings of Moses and David in this light, if we grasp the idea that they are the inspired word of God, we shall then have no trouble in comprehending their advanced teachings and ethical superiority. Our fathers regarded the Scriptures in a more sacred way than we do. It may be they went too far; but are not we in danger of taking too low an estimate of their worth? The unrest along the line of biblical criticism arises largely from the effort of our rationalistic writers to eliminate the supernatural and prophetical from the book. They insist, and there is a fascination about it, that the Bible should be treated exactly like other sacred books. It would be unjust to claim that all who say that David did not write any of the psalms utterly disregard the supernatural in the Bible. It is, however, a fact that the majority of these minimize the supernatural element as much as possible. And, if they do at all believe in the inspiration of the word, they do so in a very limited degree.

But why make all the psalms post-exilic? Why deny the Davidic authorship of the majority of psalms in the first book on purely subjective grounds? What reason have we for ascribing such spirituality to writers of the Maccabean age? Why transfer the golden age of Hebrew psalmody from the age of David to that of Judas the Maccabee? These are some of the questions that every young man should answer fully before abandoning the view still held by most of the evangelical theologians and devout biblical scholars of England and America, and before accepting the theories of radical critics.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

RIGHTS OF FOREIGN RESIDENCE AND TITLES IN CHINA.

A PETITION is in circulation, addressed to the President and Senate of the United States, relative to the ill-defined and unsatisfactory status of the civil rights of missionaries in China under existing treaties. There are many citizens of the United States in China, holding property to the value of many hundreds of thousands of dollars, who reside in the interior of the empire; but their residence and their title to property are not guaranteed by any explicit technical phrase in the treaties, though it is believed that the constructive right to both has been established. This constructive right is maintained under a clause in the French treaty, inserted in the French text, but not found in the Chinese text. By an understanding between the two powers, however, the French has been declared to be the official text. Under the "most favored nation" clause of other treaties this has been asserted to apply to the missionaries of other nationalities and to their property, as well as to the French; but the Chinese government has claimed the right to interpret it for itself. The government has just sanctioned the right of native churches or native Christian societies to hold property, after having pigeonholed the matter for thirty years. But property which belongs to a native church is no longer owned by the foreigners who furnished the money to the native church. The Chinese government has thus interpreted through local officials. If the property be confiscated there is no means of redress. Public sentiment is readily inflamed against Christians in China, thus preventing the operation of ordinary Chinese justice. The Chinese government has interpreted the right of property as subject to *feng-shui*, a species of necromancy about which the people are fanatical and whimsical. It has, besides, interpreted this property right as subject to the pleasure and approval of local Chinese officials, without which the legal title cannot be consummated. This is obstructive and prohibitory, practically forbidding landlords and middlemen to sell property to missionaries.

The petitioners pray for such modifications of existing treaties as will render unquestionable the rights of missionaries to reside in the interior, and for the removal of unjust conditions and restrictions imposed by the Chinese government which practically destroy already conceded rights of property and acknowledged privileges of residence. Another distinct subject named in this petition is that of inflammatory publications against Christianity and Christians. These are widely circulated books and placards, which are not regularly authorized by the government, but are published by high officials connected with it, and in the eyes of the people have all the weight and authority of government publications. They contain foul calumnies against Christianity and against foreigners, charging them with such practices as the tearing out of human eyes in order to

manufacture specific medicines, the kidnapping and mutilation of children, the dishonoring of women, as well as other practices too obscene or too revolting to describe in print. The riots which have endangered the lives and property of American citizens have been traced to these inflammatory publications, which have been scattered over the whole empire, especially throughout the Yang-tse valley. These publications are sold at government bookstores. It seems a delicate task to interfere with a free press in another country or to dictate the suppression of literature current in the land, even if semiofficially issued by the government; yet the political bearings of this, as affecting international peace, justify the demand. The missionaries say that a policy like that outlined in this petition would mean an immense gain for the cause of Christ in China, would be a decided blow at the murderous riots of the past few years, would advance friendly relations with the people and open doors to a multitude of places, even to whole provinces, now sealed against missionary effort.

THE ISSUE IN JAPAN.

THE issue in Japan between Christianity and the other religious systems may be said to be fairly joined. It is true that the opposition to Christianity assumes the form of nationalism; but this nationalism includes the defense of existing institutions, such as idol worship and concubinage, which find their base in the native religious systems. Yet it must be remembered that this contention does not involve more than one in seven of the total population of the empire. Outside of this fraction the people are either totally uninformed of the new conditions or wholly indifferent to them. This one seventh, however, constitutes a molding and energetic leadership, though they are not yet sufficiently advanced to know the impracticability of the task they have set themselves—that of placing Japan in the front rank of civilized peoples and, at the same time, prescribing as a test of loyalty to the emperor the duty of preserving religious institutions.

The nation as a whole has thrown religion overboard as a State institution; but the upper one seventh are more or less dominated by priests who are never neglectful of their own interests. The Buddhist priests during two years past have exhibited an increasing bitterness to all progress which in its roots involves a modification of Buddhism. Though the progressive and the nonprogressive wings of Buddhists are at outs with each other, they are at one in their organized antagonism to Christianity, and are influencing Shintoists to cooperate with them in a national resistance of it. This they seek to accomplish through political channels. The Buddhist priests number nearly one to every four hundred and twenty of the population, and those of the Shintoists about as many more. Hence there is an ever-present and highly organized force, in the ratio of nearly one to every two hundred men, women, and children in the empire, officially interested in influencing the rest to conserve the existing centuries-old religions. This force includes many of the most popular orators and

most powerful writers of the nation. It is become the order of the day to promote "revivals" of the old faiths as against "Western creeds." Funeral rites fallen into disuse are restored and temples repaired. The loyalty of native Christians is challenged by a professor in an imperial university, and thousands of tracts are circulated against Christians, stigmatizing them as unpatriotic. This has driven the Christians into an effort to produce an indigenous formula of Christianity which has created distrust in Christian Churches at home. This attempt at a "Japanned" Christianity has weakened support from abroad. The Japanese Christians seem to be desirous to expel the foreign missionary as the only alternative to the expulsion of Christianity itself. The methods of the Christian mission are imitated by the priests at the same time that they are feared, and because they are feared. One Buddhist school says in its circular that the girls' schools of the missions are established for the purpose of spreading Christianity, that they are, therefore, unsuitable to the country, and that schools for the education of women should be established on Buddhist principles. These Buddhist schools have a five years' course, in which English is taught if desired; but particular attention is given to knitting, sewing, ceremonies and amenities of social life, domestic arts, and Buddhist ethics.

Thus not only may religion in Japan be said to be in a transition daze, but national peculiarities must be reckoned with in all attempted reformations, revivals, or substitutions which look to religious progress. There can be but two alternatives, so far as the native religions are concerned. Either national progress must be checked or Buddhism and Shintoism must be left to their natural fate. Patience will be demanded on the part of both Japanese and Western Christians in this transition. Each must make the effort to put themselves in the place of the other. Mutual respect, thoughtful consideration, and possibly concessions on both sides will be demanded. Haste is to be deplored. The Christianity of Japan is being cradled in the bosom of a revolution, which will never go backward. The American Board has sent a strong commission to represent it at the council board of its affiliated churches in Japan and to consider the present exigency with, if we are correctly informed, power to materially modify its direct administration. The Methodist Episcopal Church annually sends what in other organizations would be named an official "deputation" to study and help to guide in this crisis. God has a mission for this island empire, which is now a factor in the future development of Asia.

THE WORK OF GOD IN EAST CENTRAL AFRICA.

THE missionaries of Great Britain in east Central Africa are making history with phenomenal rapidity. The Church of England missionaries in Uganda, over a year ago, received an enlargement of spiritual perception and what they esteemed as a baptism of the Holy Ghost for service, as never before. This was extended to the native Church in a series of

special services, organized in the hope that it also might be indued with power from on high. The effect was surprisingly immediate and decisive. It was an out-and-out revival of religion, as the vernacular of our home Churches would phrase it, in its best sense; a phenomenon for which the secular world has no nomenclature; a sort of religious cyclone which distinctly supernatural influences are recognized as alone competent to produce. Secular historians pass these by, as though they were not at all factors in the development of society; yet they are radical elements, as formative and masterful as any forces besides.

The immediate result of this special outpouring of the Holy Ghost on foreign and native workers was a thousand baptisms within the year following. The expansion was, within the year, from twenty country churches to two hundred, with an average seating capacity of a hundred and fifty persons, while the ten largest combined would hold forty-five hundred. In these churches on Sunday there now assemble twenty thousand souls to hear the Gospel; and on week days the attendance is not less than four thousand. These figures are not inclusive of the capital, being only for the country districts. And this is only the beginning of an enormous extension in the country. The churches are themselves, in eighty-five stations, supporting one hundred and thirty-one teachers. Of these stations twenty are outside of Uganda proper in adjacent districts; and the native missionaries supplying these twenty stations are thus "foreign" missionaries sent by the Uganda Christians to the regions beyond. At Bu'si, an island near Jungo, fifteen miles south of Mengo, two thousand people are under instruction.

All attribute this movement to a Bible foundation. The Scriptures have been distributed broadcast over all this territory, and the people not only read them with avidity, having paid for them that they might own them, but devoutly study them. It is the assertion of Archdeacon Walker himself that it is no uncommon thing for a man mending a fence or a woman hoeing a field to ask if the Herod mentioned in a certain passage was Antipas or Agrippa. One missionary asks the Church at home what they are to do if a hundred thousand copies of the New Testament shall be required in the course of the next two or three years, and a million reading sheets besides. That would require fifteen hundred manloads to be brought from the coast, and it would be well-nigh impossible to obtain so large a force when other traffic is steadily demanding more carriers. These people will do days' work to purchase the Scriptures. One missionary says he has fifteen men "working for books," and adds, "To see the rush when the sale of the New Testaments we brought up began was a sight not to be forgotten." The "change of heart," of character, and of life wrought by the Holy Ghost in these natives of Uganda can only be accounted for by the heathen around them by supposing that at baptism an incision is made in the head and a powerful medicine rubbed in which kills the old heart, and that there then comes in its place a "new religious heart which does not lust for anything." The apologetic element of such a movement must not be overlooked.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Professor Dr. Adolph Julicher. In New Testament criticism he holds a middle position between those who adhere to tradition, in spite of critical evidence, and those extreme critics who venture to penetrate into the innermost secrets of ancient literary production. He is an exponent of that growing class of German critics who see plainly that the attempt to explain every least point leads to the wildest confusion, and who are anxious to see criticism follow more sober methods hereafter. This is not because he or they whom he represents are afraid of any truth which may be discovered. They merely recognize the fact that there are limits to the knowable in the origin of documents—that, while conjecture may be admissible, conjecture cannot, in most cases, be lifted to the dignity of fact. Among the opinions which he holds relative to New Testament problems may be mentioned the following: Even as early as Justin Martyr, the term "Scripture" was consciously employed to include the gospels and the Apocalypse. The only Pauline epistles which he confidently denies to Paul are the pastoral epistles. These he places about the year 125 A. D. He regards the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians and the Epistle to the Colossians as probably genuine. Even the Epistle to the Ephesians may possibly be genuine. He decidedly opposes the hypothesis of the composite character of Second Corinthians and Philippians. In his treatment of the Apocalypse he is very cautious. He holds it to be a book by a Christian of about 95 A. D., but thinks that in several parts older apocalyptical elements were embodied. Whether these are from one or from several apocalypses, or whether they are of Christian or of Jewish origin, he cannot decide, and thinks the question may possibly never be decided. In the criticism of the gospels he holds to the hypothesis of a double source; but, instead of the usual theory of a primitive Mark, he regards our canonical Mark as the source of our canonical Matthew and Luke. As to the Acts of the Apostles, he makes the "we" source very extensive, declaring that the author of the Acts probably derived all that is valuable concerning Paul from that source. He is inclined to attribute the first half of the Acts to oral, rather than to written, sources. But the speeches of the first half are thought to be inventions of the author.

Professor Dr. Hermann Schultz. In these days when our ideas of apologetics are undergoing so radical a change, it may be well to hear what so great a dogmatician has to say. He firmly believes that, although faith is a personal and practical religious conviction, and although we cannot spread religious truths in the same way as those of logic and mathematics, yet there is a possibility of a true science of apologetics. It can be shown that true science does not compel the abandonment of the religious view of the world, and that a harmonious understanding of the

world, including man as a moral and reasonable being, is impossible without this religious conception, but is furnished by it. The task of apologetics is to understand the nature and justification of religion, to comprehend the historical manifestations of religion, and to show the nature and perfection of Christianity. This latter, he thinks, can be sufficiently demonstrated. Whoever accepts the Christian faith does so because his soul, unsatisfied with itself and the world, experiences in the person of Christ the reality of the good and the consciousness of peace. But it is necessary to the thinking Christian to give himself a reason for claiming that the Christian religion is not only the best among many religions, but the best possible religion. For this purpose it is necessary to appeal to the decisive principle of religion. The proof of the perfection of Christianity is found, first, in the character of the benefits derived from the person of Christ, and, secondly, in the manner in which God reveals himself to man. Both of these are such as to preclude the possibility of anything higher. He is of the opinion that the materialistic and the pessimistic view of the world will alike forever fail to satisfy the demands of the human heart, and hence that they can never replace the religious faith. He believes that the task of defending the reasonableness of the Christian view must fall more and more to public address. If this be correct it is time that the preachers should study with more care the true line for apologetics to pursue and prepare themselves to present it to the people.

Paul Natorp. The question of the relation of religion to human progress, while settled for the vast majority, is an open one for a sufficiently large portion of mankind to give it profound importance. There are those who give due credit to religion as a factor in the early development of the race, and yet believe that after a given stage has been reached progress can only be made by the complete abolition of religion. Others there are who think that the race will only reach its highest goal in the full realization of the religious ideal. To say nothing of the opinions of the masses, even among thinkers the latter view has by far the majority in its favor. According to the judgment of Natorp religion is an essential element of human nature, and there can be no true world-wide human society and no common universal progress without it. He avoids the extreme, on the one hand, of those who regard religion, both as to its source and purpose, far above all questions of human interest and, on the other, of those who regard humanity as so elevated that it is impossible to connect with it so intangible, uncertain, and subjective a thing as religion, concerning which they hesitate whether to call it an innocent or a consciously guilty self-deception. Natorp thinks that humanity can be and ought to be, not divided, but united, by means of religion. He is a believer in the doctrine of original righteousness, according to which the most decided characteristic of a human being is his need of fellowship with God, without which he can never reach his highest development or happiness. He opposes decidedly the attempt to produce or teach a

system of morals disconnected with religion. On the other hand, he demands the giving up of the universal requirement of belief in specific dogmas as inconsistent with Christian freedom. This leads directly to the idea of religious instruction, which is to be based upon broad Christian, as distinct from denominational, interpretation. Whether this can be practically wrought out remains to be seen. It can certainly be done as soon as Christians are predominantly Christian, rather than sectarian.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Die Beziehungen des Papstthums zum Frankischen Staats- und Kirchenrecht unter den Karolingern (The Relations of the Papacy to Frankish Civil and Canon Law under the Carolingians). By Dr. Richard Weyl. As never before, the history of the development of the papacy is being studied, greatly to the detriment of its pretensions. We can do nothing here but give some of the principal results of Weyl's most carefully conducted investigations. The close relationship which sprang up after a long period between the papacy and the Frankish kingdom, and which was brought about by the missionary activity of Bonifacius, was in consequence of prudential considerations on both sides. But the popes were not able to secure any decided influence upon the civil law. Especially were the popes not allowed to exercise any authority in the enthronement of kings or emperors. More influential, however, were the popes in respect of ecclesiastical law. The pope was universally regarded as the highest authority in dogmatic questions. He was regarded as the chief defender of the faith and first preacher of Christian doctrine, and as such had a number of rights, none of which, however, gave him any power over the civil authorities. The pope had no participation in the establishment of bishoprics or in the filling of the sees, although in the matter of archbishoprics he was granted a certain right of participation. When Italy became a part of the Frankish empire the pope was reduced to the position of a mere bishop, coordinate with the other bishops of the empire and, like them, subject to the supervision of the State and the limitations placed upon the episcopate by the civil authority. Even in matters of faith the authority of the pope suffered a diminution, the king and the clergy repeatedly taking a position in opposition to him. The general conclusion from all this is that under the Carolingians, as under the Merovingians, the pope was never recognized as having a primacy—that is, as a hierarchical power ruling the clergy; while the rights granted to the pope were neither numerous nor especially important. These are weighty, but they are wholly justified, conclusions. The next struggle with the papacy will be along the lines of its history, and it will be well for our people to know the facts in the case.

Die Publizistik im Zeitalter Gregors VII (Publication in Age of Gregory VII). By Professor Dr. Carl Mirbt. Sometimes a work should

be noticed merely because it is a sort of cyclopedia on the subject of which it treats, altogether apart from any views to which it may give expression. Of this sort is the work now mentioned. For one who would understand the literature of the years 1031–1112 A. D. it will henceforth be indispensable. An idea of the comprehensiveness of the material included may be had by the following list of topics of the eight sections: the controversial documents, their date, occasion, authorship, etc.; the measures of Gregory VII against Henry IV; the celibacy of the priests, and simony; the sacraments of the simonistic and married clergy; lay investiture; the relation of the State and the Church; Pope Gregory VII; character and significance of the entire literature. The particularity of the study may be seen by a brief statement of some of the results of the first section: The whole number of documents is one hundred and fifteen, the number of authors sixty-five. Italy produced forty-eight documents and twenty-seven authors; Germany, fifty-five and twenty-seven, respectively; France, eleven and ten; while only one other country was represented, namely, Spain, with one. Many of the documents were anonymous or pseudonymous. The authors and those to whom the documents were addressed were clergy and monks, with two exceptions. Fully half of the documents were written by bishops, of whom two thirds belonged to Italy. Only about a dozen monks are among the authors, but they furnish some of the most important writings. The Gregorians produced sixty-five pieces, their opponents fifty. It is impossible to go further into details. But no one can read this work without obtaining a clear idea of the questions at issue, the arguments by which each side supported its positions, the aggressions of the papacy, the growth of public opinion, the literary power, the general condition of the Church, and the state of civilization. The period covered is one of the most interesting in history, and here we have material for its detailed study. We again express the wish that such investigations might be more frequent in English.

Individual- und Gemeindepsalmen—Ein Beitrag zur Erklarung des Psalters (Personal and General Psalms—Contributions to the Expositions of the Psalter). By Dr. Georg Beer. The first part demonstrates, from the superscriptions and other indications, that in its general character the Psalter was a collection of songs for public worship. Nevertheless it is pointed out that the Psalter became a book which was employed by individual Israelites for purposes of private worship, and that, although a great number of the psalms were evidently written for public use, yet there are others which argue against the idea of a liturgical use and which were unquestionably written for private worship, being later adjusted to the congregation. Beer accounts for the origin of the Psalter as follows: First there was a David-psalter, comprising Psalms iii–xli; this was followed by a later David-psalter, comprising Psalms li–lxxii, subsequently enlarged by a Qorah-psalter of Psalms xlii–xlix, and an Asaph-psalter of Psalms l, lxxiii–lxxxiii, and a still later appendix of Psalms lxxxiv–lxxxix. To these two were added a collection, mostly anonymous, of Psalms xc–cl. As an in-

troduction to the whole collection Psalms i and ii were prefixed. The whole collection was completed about 140 B. C. In examining the time of the composition of the particular psalms he begins with books iv and v, which, he thinks, reveal the warlike period of the Maccabees and the end of the Greek period, with the certainty that none of the psalms of these books originated earlier than the end of the Persian period. Especially, the Qorah and Asaph psalms, of the second and third books, exhibit a period of misfortune for Israel. Some of these songs point plainly to the end of the Persian period; others fall in the period subsequent to Alexander the Great. The songs of the first book belong for the most part to the Persian and Greek periods. The only psalms which, according to Beer, belong to an earlier period are iii, iv, xi, xviii, and the indications of their earlier date are not thoroughly convincing. This shuts David out altogether from the composition of the Psalms. Beer thinks, however, that David was a religious poet, basing his opinion upon Amos vi, 5. Some critics have trained their faculties so perfectly that they can, apparently, hear the grass grow.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

The Growing Estrangement of the Masses from the Protestant Church in Germany. It is a fact which cannot be gotten rid of by mere denial that such an estrangement is taking place, or, one might almost say, has taken place. It would be matter for rejoicing if one could put it wholly in the past. But unfortunately it is still in progress, partly because the minority who have remained more or less faithful to the Church are losing one by one their sense of loyalty, partly because those who have long been estranged are being confirmed in their indifference. One of the first things to do, ordinarily, is to lay all the blame for such a state of affairs on the Church—to say that if the Church had done its duty, or had been what it ought to have been, the masses would have been true to it, and only occasionally would one have turned away. Doubtless the German Church has its share of blame. It has based its work upon a doctrinal, rather than upon a practical, foundation. This has caused it to spend its strength in the definition of the truth instead of upon its practice. Only the few, even among the clergy, have been able to participate with vigor in the one absorbing object which the Church should keep in view. The masses of the people have passively received what the few offered them of an intellectual kind. There was nothing for the laity in general to do except to join in the ritual observances of the Sunday services according to the prescribed forms. Being based upon doctrine, the Church has contented itself with catechetical instruction followed by confirmation, and has trusted to the sound reason of those thus received into the Church to keep them true to the teachings thus provided. That the opposition of the natural heart to the requirements of the Gospel could be overcome in the way adopted by the Church was not doubted. The enthusiasm of personal experience has been quenched by the same cause. If the principal thing

is sound doctrine, then no provision need be made for the production or maintenance of experience. Prayer meetings are almost unknown. To speak of one's experience is regarded as fanatical. The same theory it was which permitted the parishes to become so large. Small parishes, with a pastor to look after each member personally, are not needed where the basis of Church membership is doctrinal. This also it was which led to the neglect of the practical duties of the Christian life, which, however, are rapidly coming to the front in the ideals of the Church. Besides this doctrinal cause another has worked powerfully to the same end; it is the German national trait of abhorrence of innovations. It prevented Pietism from doing what it might otherwise have done for the German Church, and it has made progress among the "sects" very slow, much to the detriment of the cause of God among the Germans. For had the sects become a greater power than they are they would have reacted favorably on the Established Church, both by liberalizing it and provoking it to good works. But, admitting the validity of all this, it still remains true that the Church is not chiefly to blame for the present state of affairs. None of the preachers of the world have ever been able to win the masses and hold them permanently. None of the apostles, nor even Jesus, could do it. Nor has the Church in any age been able to accomplish this work. Humanity at large is too fickle to be constant in its loyalty to Christ. The demands of the Church, even when they are at the minimum, are higher than men generally are willing to submit themselves to for any considerable length of time. But the principal cause outside of the Church, which, in addition to the constant factors working in opposition to its success, now hinders the people from firm adherence to the cause of Christ, is the growing sense of the temporal claims of men. In other words, the political and economical situation is such as to emphasize the earthly to the exclusion of the heavenly, the material to the subversion of the spiritual. We have science instead of philosophy, skill instead of culture—everything pointing to the betterment of human temporalities. These things by themselves would not have produced the effect. But, combined with the fact that the Church must of necessity look toward spiritualities and has by oversight failed to give due attention to the temporal welfare of the people, it has contributed more than anything else to the results so much to be deplored.

Religious Freedom in Russia. Upon the ascension of Nicholas II to the throne of Russia a new and more liberal era for that country was prophesied. All appearances did, indeed, seem to indicate that the long-wished-for time was about to dawn when perfect religious freedom should be secured for the hitherto oppressed Jews and other religionists. But these hopes were doomed to bitter disappointment. The Jewish persecutions continue, and there is to-day less prospect that they will cease than ever. The latest form of oppression is one of incredible cruelty. The Russian health resorts are crowded, especially in the summer months, with people of all classes, who desire the benefits which the health-giving

waters confer. It is now ordered that in the southern part of Russia, in the Ciscaucasian province, all Jews shall be forbidden to summer at these resorts, whether they be there in search of health or of pleasure. That such a thing should be possible in a Christian country in this age of the world should elicit a storm of indignation sufficient to awaken the Russian authorities to a sense of their crime.

The International Union of Friends of Young Girls. This excellent organization has not received the attention it deserves. It is but seventeen years since this form of benevolent work was first agitated. To Frau Aine Humbert, of Neuchâtel, Switzerland, belongs the honor of beginning the work. The members of the order pledge themselves to assist unprotected young girls who are obliged to go out into the world, and to protect them from the dangers which beset them in the larger and smaller cities. In Neuchâtel there is a bureau whose function it is to assist these girls in finding work and homes, and which places about one hundred annually. Similar bureaus in Lausanne and Vevay find places each for from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty annually, so that in the past ten years about three thousand girls have been provided with homes or work in French Switzerland alone. About ten thousand girls in various lands have been cared for during a longer or shorter period of time. The union numbers many thousand members in Germany, France, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Portugal, Russia, Sweden, and North America. A number of periodicals keep the members in touch with each other. The official organ of the International Union is published in Neuchâtel, under the name *Le Journal des Bien Public*, on the 15th of each month, and gives information of the work everywhere.

The Berlin Depot Mission. Of the same kind as the above is this work. It has been proved that, of the 34,587 young girls who during the last year entered Berlin for the purpose of finding employment, a large number fell into bad hands before they left the depots. The Association for the Protection of Female Youth, therefore, provided for the prevention of this state of things in the future. Volunteers from among the women of the association serve in turn at the various depots. They wear a badge on the arm by which any young girl entering the city can recognize them. By word and deed they assist all girls who apply to them. The Minister of Public Works has arranged that suitable space be given for the accommodation of the agents of the association, and the police president has ordered the depot police to give them every possible assistance. The association has made arrangements by which the six provinces especially contributing young girls to the servant class of Berlin shall be made acquainted with the provision for girls arriving in Berlin.

A Protestant Episcopal Bishop for Spain. Archbishop Plunket, of Dublin, together with the Bishop of Clogher and Down, recently ordained

a Protestant bishop of Spain, the ordination taking place in Madrid. This act has called forth much comment in English High Church circles and aroused much opposition. The principal reason for the opposition is that the existence of a Protestant bishop in Spain is an attack on the rights of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in that country. Such consideration for Roman Catholicism, founded upon such a reason, is the clearest possible proof of the essential harmony between High Church Episcopalianism and Roman Catholicism. It means that if the episcopacy be of the same type all other differences sink out of sight. The High Church Englishman sees no use for a reformation in Spain, because Spain, as well as England, has the "historic episcopate." Nevertheless, the Protestants of Spain received this token of favor from Protestant England with great satisfaction.

The German Huguenot Association. This historically interesting organization held its latest meeting in Maulbronn, which is the center of the Würtemberg Waldensian colony. Members were present from all parts of Germany, Holland, Italy, and Spain. The meeting was more truly international than any previously held. At Maulbronn is an old Cistercian cloister, where, in the Summer Church, the opening festival was held consisting of sermons by Drs. Klotz, Braun, Correvon, and Burk. The president of the association read his report on the second day, showing that there was growth in every department of their work—ecclesiastical, literary, and benevolent. Addresses were delivered on topics relating to the workers, the work, and the history of the Waldenses.

Postal Savings Banks in England. According to the last annual report of the postmaster-general of England, 983,189 persons paid into postal savings banks during the past fiscal year the sum of $123,245,120, or an average of about $125 each. The total sum held on deposit by the postal department is $407,938,205. Of the interest on these deposits $8,300,520 were not drawn, but left to be added to the deposits already made. The number of depositors in all Great Britain is 5,748,239, of whom 220,117 are Scotch, 235,944 Irish, and the remaining 5,292,178 English, every sixth Englishman being a depositor. Great efforts are being made to encourage children in the public schools to save and deposit their money, even in the smallest amounts, and apparently with good effect.

Female Inspectors for German Factory Girls. The League of German Women's Clubs, which met in March of last year, recently handed a petition to the ministers of commerce in the individual states composing the empire, looking toward the installment of female inspectors in factories where large numbers of females are employed. According to the report of the inspectors for 1892 there were in that year 223,538 female laborers ranging in age from sixteen to twenty-one years, and 337,499 over twenty-one years of age, not to mention 72,692 girls less than eighteen years old. These figures reveal the demand for such a measure as that proposed.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

RUGGED and toilsome is the author's path to fame. Whoever cherishes the delusion that it is a smooth journey will be undeceived by such an article as "A Reply to My Critics," which Dr. Max Nordau writes in the August *Century*. Says this author of *Degeneration:* "Since my book left the press it is literally true that not a day has passed without bringing down upon me a shower of printed calumnies." Some of his critics, he says, have called him "a lunatic;" some have asserted that he himself does not believe a single word of what he has written; some have insinuated that he possesses no qualifications for writing such a book as *Degeneration;* some have found "the most flagrant evidences of idiocy" in his works. But "the most astounding performance," says Nordau, "is that of a Berlin physician who has devoted an entire book" to him and who regales him in the first half of it with "the whole vocabulary of opprobrious epithets which is to be found in the German language." These critics, however, Nordau brushes aside with the caustic rejoinder that some "are incompetent, some dishonest, and some both." He then seriously devotes his attention to "the few objections which have been advanced in good faith by competent judges against the fundamental principles" of his book. To the claim that history shows there have been frequent epochs when "a kind of epidemic insanity" has taken possession of the race, he shows the distinction between the "spiritual epidemics" of the past and that of the present; and asserts that the existing hysteria and degeneration are on the point of dominating art and literature. To another criticism, that an author's characters do not necessarily represent his own opinions and purposes, Nordau answers at length that it is not "illegitimate to draw conclusions from an author's work to the author himself." And the third objection, that all genius is a form of degeneration, he declares erroneous. The reader will enjoy the vigor of Nordau's rejoinder. He fights like a gladiator.

Christian Literature for July opens with a discriminating article by Leonard Woolsey Bacon, which he entitles "Concerning the Use of Fagots at Geneva." It was nearly three hundred and fifty years ago, he reminds us, that Servetus, "one of the first physicians of that time and one of the greatest scholars of an age of great scholars, was brought out from the prison in which he had been shivering with cold and devoured by vermin, and led into the presence of the magistrates of Geneva" to receive his sentence of death at the stake. But Dr. Bacon has no new word to speak for John Calvin, in his relation to the martyrdom of Servetus. To defend him, he writes, "for his course towards Servetus is no longer possible, in the light of the full array of evidence now accessible to every scholar," which position he fortifies by quotations from

Roget, the syndic Calandrini, and others.——In the August number of the same periodical is a translation of four interesting letters from John Huss to his church in Prague, and a letter from fifty-seven lords and gentlemen to the Council at Constance. These five famous letters are found in the complete edition of Luther's works. The translator is Dr. M. J. Cramer.

THE opening article in the *North American* for August is by W. J. H. Traynor, President of the American Protective Association. He writes on "The Menace of Romanism" in vigorous phrase. The papacy, he asserts, "seeks to renew in the New World the power of which she has been denuded in the Old," and his organization "will continue its work until popes have learned that under the American Constitution, as it now stands, they have no right that is not possessed by the most insignificant member of the nonpapal clergy or laity." The next article, on "Female Criminals," by Major Arthur Griffiths, her majesty's inspector of prisons, catalogues the evil deeds of various woman murderers and poisoners. Andrew Lang writes entertainingly on "Tendencies in Fiction." The Rev. Dr. H. Pereira Mendes follows with an article on "The Solution of War." Arbitration in his estimate being the best method for abolishing strife, and an arbitrative power being necessary which is above suspicion, Palestine must be restored to the Hebrew nation and there be instituted "a world's court of arbitration." "Its environment will be the temple, dedicated to the Father of all; and over its members will be the halo of religion." In "The Yacht as a Naval Auxiliary" the Hon. William McAdoo, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, shows the value of this vessel, and holds that the "eager and enthusiastic yachting spirit now abroad in our land bodes well, not only for the navy, but for the merchant marine." Sir Benjamin Ward Richardson gives some wholesome advice in "What to Avoid in Cycling." The transition "from depression toward prosperity," as seen in the comparison of 1894 with 1895, is the gist of "The Turning of the Tide," by Worthington C. Ford, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics at Washington. The Right Honorable Sir Charles W. Dilke writes briefly on "The New Administration in England." In an article entitled "Leo XIII and the Social Question," the Rev. J. A. Zahm concludes that the present pontiff, "because he was obedient to the laws of history and because he understood the social needs of his time," deserves to be forever known as "the pope of the workingmen and the great high priest of our century." A continuation of the interesting historical reminiscences of Albert D. Vandam is found in his "Personal History of the Second Empire—VIII. Prosperity and Social Splendor." Professor Goldwin closes the list of contributions with a suggestive article on "Guesses at the Riddle of Existence," which is really a critique on the recent works of Kidd, Drummond, and Balfour.

THE *Presbyterian Quarterly* for July contains, as its contributed articles: 1. "Primeval Man," by F. R. Beattie, D.D.; 2. "Ratramn and

the Transubstantiation Controversy," by Dunlop Moore, D.D.; 3. "Anselm," by L. G. Barbour, D.D.; 4. "Young People's Societies and our Church," by E. Brantly; 5. "Kidd's Social Evolution," by G. S. Patton, A.M. The conclusion of Dr. Beattie in the first article is that the candid reader will give a verdict against "primeval savagism." It will be found that "man was not a rude savage or a wild barbarian, but that his genealogy is correctly given in the Scriptures, which assert that Seth was the son of Adam, and that Adam was the son of God." The fourth article vigorously protests against young people's societies as now existing in the Presbyterian Church. The objections are that the movement is subversive of the parental rights and destroys the family unit; that the movement is congregational and episcopal, such organizations being "not safe, at least, for the Presbyterian Church;" and that doctrinally there is danger in the Christian Endeavor Society's teachings. The strong intrenchment of the writer in his theological stronghold is shown by his warning that "all this machinery is merely the methods suited to the Armenian system of theology, woven together in one new and imposing piece of mechanism, which cannot but be hurtful to a pure Calvinism."

In the *Edinburgh Review* for July the first article, discussing the "Royal Commission on Trade Depression," specifies the qualities of industry and thrift as a mitigation for the evils of bad times. The third article reviews the life of Sir William Petty, who is known in England as "a founder of the Royal Society, as the father of statistical research, as one of those adventurers in the domain of experimental science who made the close of the seventeenth century famous." "Many of his qualities," says the reviewer, "have been inherited by the house of Lansdowne, especially his sound judgment and political insight." In the fourth article, on "Materials for the Study of Variation," the views of William Bateson are discussed, whose position is that natural selection "can never be the cause of the origin of species, which must rather be due to spontaneous variations upon which it may act." In "The Collected Works of Robert Louis Stevenson," the writer sums up his judgment of the late novelist in the following characterization: "Deliberate analysis confirms us in the belief that Stevenson owed much of his fame to the personal liking of his contemporaries; nor can we discover either novelty or profundity in his social philosophy."

In the *Lutheran Quarterly* for July an historical article on "A Proposal to Have the Lutheran Bishops of Denmark Consecrate Bishops for the Episcopal Churches in America" opens an interesting chapter in the ecclesiastical history of 1785 and thereabouts. The Rev. J. K. Hilty writes in this number on "Proportionate and Systematic Giving;" Dr. J. W. Schwartz on "Does Natural Religion Reveal Only One God?" and the Rev. G. C. Henry, in the novel form of a letter read before the Des Moines Ministerial Association, on "A Better Minister."

THE *Nineteenth Century* for July has: 1. "Cromwell's Statue," by Algernon Charles Swinburne; 2. "The Conservative Programme of Social Reform," by Sir John Gorst, M. P.; 3. "The Irish Fiasco," by Henry Jephson; 4. "An Object Lesson in 'Payment of Members,'" by Major General Tulloch; 5. "Intellectual Detachment," by Sir Herbert Maxwell; 6. "Dr. Pusey and Bishop Wilberforce," by R. G. Wilberforce; 7. "My Native Salmon River," by Archibald Forbes; 8. "Recent Science," by Prince Kropotkin; 9. "How to Obtain a School of English Opera," by J. F. Rowbotham; 10. "The Church in Wales," by the Lord Bishop of St. Asaph; 11. "Color—Music," by William Schooling; 12. "Religion in Elementary Schools—Proposals for Peace," by G. A. Spottiswoode; 13. "The Society of Comparative Legislation," by Sir Courtenay Ilbert; 14. "A Moslem View of Abdul Hamid and the Powers," by Rafiuddin Ahmad; 15. "Some Lessons from Kiel," by W. Laird Clowes.

Our Day for August has a portrait and a character sketch of Tolstoi. H. S. McCowan writes on "The School of the Kingdom," and Harris Weinstock asks, "Are We Becoming Socialists?"—— The *Canadian Methodist Review* for July–August has articles by Dr. W. Jackson, on "The Nature of Christ's Atonement;" by W. J. Hunter, D.D., on "Body and Soul—a Theory;" by Rev. W. M. Patton, on "Progressive Revelation —a Review;" and by Rev. John Reynolds, on "The Teaching of Christ," etc. The Rev. John Maclean contributes a sermon on "The Ministry of Pain."——The opening article in the August number of the *Chautauquan* is on "Santa Barbara Floral Festivals," by Miss S. A. Higgins. It is illustrated.——In the *Missionary Review* for August Dr. A. T. Pierson writes of "An Apocalyptic Crisis in Papal History." An illustrated article by J. H. Laurie, D.D., on "Missionary Work in the New Hebrides," will also be found especially attractive.——The *Catholic World* for August has a most seasonable article on "Better than a Trip to Europe." It is written by H. H. Neville, is attractively illustrated, and describes in an entertaining way the enjoyment of travel through the great West.——The *Methodist Magazine* for August opens with an illustrated article by Dr. W. H. Withrow, entitled "In the Levant." Professor A. P. Coleman writes on "Canoeing on the Columbia," and Lucy W. Brooking tells "The Story of Ashanti." Both of these articles are plentifully illustrated. Mark Guy Pearse writes on "Christianity and the Poor," and Hugh Price Hughes on "Christianity and Women."——The *Quarterly Review of the United Brethren* for July has articles by Bishop J. W. Hott, on "A Free and Liberal Church;" by President C. M. Brooke, on "Our Educational System;" by the Rev. F. P. Rosselot, on "Orthodoxy;" by Mary L. Marot, B.S., on "The Religious Conceptions of the Author of Isaiah xl–lxvi;" by Dr. J. G. Johnston, on "Harmony of Science and the Bible;" and by Rev. E. H. Caylor, on "Spiritualism—Its Fact and Fraud." Dr. H. A. Thompson also contributes a memorial article on "John Wesley Etter, D.D.," which is accompanied by a portrait.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

The Foundations of Belief. Being Notes Introductory to the Study of Theology. By the Right Hon. ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR, Author of *A Defense of Philosophic Doubt*, etc. 12mo, pp. 366. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, $2.

A year ago Kidd's *Social Evolution* was the new book most talked about, one authority declaring it the most important since Darwin's *Origin of Species*, issued in 1869. Now, and for six months past, Balfour's *Foundations of Belief* fills the immediate foreground of serious literature, being called by some the most remarkable religious book since Professor Seeley's *Ecce Homo*. Such estimates are sometimes not careful and exact, but merely flags and signals of individual opinion flung to the wind in the excitement of first impressions and while under the immediate spell of the book in hand. Few, if any, can stand close under the shadow of one book and make a fair and just comparison offhand between it and other books. To get the true perspective and be able rightly to compare proportions and values the mind must stand off from them all, doing some walking back and forth, approaching and receding along a line equidistant from the things to be compared. Few human utterances are so little certain of being in the form of sound words as are the impulsive opinions ejaculated over a new book. Have we not all suffered in our feelings, and also in our finances, because of this? Do we not owe amiable grudges to various well-meaning persons whom it was our misfortune to meet at the fateful moment when they were full to bursting with some new book and bubbling over with enthusiasm about it, and who so imposed their fine frenzy on our ignorance, thirsting for knowledge, that we went in haste to buy the book as if it were a passport to Paradise? We vaguely expected it to reconstruct us, solve our problems, show us how to reform the world, and lead us and our fellows into new hemispheres and larger horizons. To obtain it we parted with our precious ducats, dear to us almost as are the ruddy drops that visit our now sad, because experienced, hearts. And every time we see or think of that volume we feel, however it was bound, as if we ourselves were naturally bound in sheepskin or had been "lambs" in Wall Street. If we were capable of learning from experience most of us have had enough to prevent us from believing from year to year that the latest book out is the greatest ever written. It must be a poor book that the author or the publishers cannot induce somebody to praise beyond its merits. What we here write is largely self-admonishment, and in no degree indicative of a disposition to disparage Mr. Balfour's book, which we now hasten to say possesses unusual power, significance, and momentum. Of this a considerably impressive proof is seen in the fact that it has immediately evoked a discussion quite extraordinary in volume, in quality, and in the caliber and standing of the

participants. The chief thinkers on all sides of theological belief have been unable to let this book alone. In *The Nineteenth Century* Dr. James Martineau has reviewed and commended it for its keen ability, while criticising mildly some of its forms and methods; and in the same magazine Professor Huxley attempted to repel Balfour's vigorous assault upon agnosticism. In *The Contemporary Review* Principal Fairbairn, of Oxford, discusses the book, and in part dissents from it; says that, while brilliant and fascinating, it is disappointing, and that its underlying philosophy is weak. In *The Fortnightly Review* Professor W. Wallace, of the department of moral philosophy in Oxford, makes a labored attempt to vindicate rationalism, naturalism, and transcendental idealism against Balfour's sharp criticism. One excellent saying of Professor Wallace is: "If God is hard for the modern world to see, it is neither science nor metaphysics which provides the veil or the fog. Other 'causes' generate practical atheism, and we have no need to seek for 'reasons.' The cares of worldliness and the race for riches are what make the heavens brass and iron. It is they that benumb the will to believe." In *The British Weekly* Dr. James Denney makes an admirably discriminating analysis of Balfour as a theologian and a Christian. He finds in this book a striking affinity to Mr. Illingworth's Bampton Lectures. He thinks Mr. Balfour especially felicitous in his argument for the rational credibility of the doctrine of the incarnation. He is the more grateful for the book because "Mr. Balfour may command a hearing where preachers might knock in vain; and preachers themselves, though they must feel that the power of Christianity to command belief rests in the whole thing taken together, and is lost when an attempt is made to plead for this or that aspect of it in isolation from the rest, will yet find much in it to repay their study and to contribute to their work." One critic says: "What is fresh in the book is, first, its perfectly frank avowal that beliefs do not rest upon reason only or chiefly, and that rationalism is as hopeless a failure in science and politics as in religion; and, secondly, its method of working out this philosophic truth, and its success in showing that the same methods which give us scientific certainty, if consistently pursued, will give us equal certainty in the sphere of religion, and that the realm of mystery in religion is paralleled by the realm of mystery in natural science." One of Balfour's conclusions is that "if the certitudes of science lose themselves in depths of unfathomable mystery it may well be that out of those same depths should emerge the certitudes of religion, and that if the dependence of the 'knowable' upon the 'unknowable' embarrasses us not in the one case no reason can be assigned why it should embarrass us in the other." His method of attack is to doubt the doubts of scientific skepticism and invalidate them; and he does cut the ground from under them, although by reasoning which some insist is capable of being turned against himself, while the broader opinion is expressed that his argument is like a Maxim gun upon the back of a revolving mule—shooting in all directions. This strong and brilliant book on a theme of transcendent dignity and import gives new justification to those who have called Balfour the Tory Gladstone;

and the epithet is likely to be further vindicated when, as is probable, the whirligig of British politics shall make this young leader of the Conservative party prime minister. The envious wish arises in us that American public life could show some men of the intellectual type of Balfour, Salisbury, Gladstone, and Argyll for leadership in the parties and in the nation. *The Bookman*, of London, thinks that *Studies in Theism*, by Professor Bowne, of Boston University, is the only book in recent years which can be profitably compared with Balfour's. This is an ignorant and inane collocation. In no respect is Balfour any mate for Bowne in realms of philosophy and theology, nor does his book belong in the same rank with the writings of the Boston professor. Balfour is only a brilliant amateur who has made a dashing excursion; Bowne is the keenest and most masterful philosophic thinker alive. *The Foundations of Belief* is the stirring sensation of the passing year; *Studies in Theism* is one volume in a systematic statement of philosophic theology which in its completeness will be the unsurpassed possession of centuries.

The Higher Criticism. An Outline of Modern Biblical Study. By Rev. C. W. RISHELL, Ph.D. 12mo, pp. 214. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

This book is not just issued, but has been some time before the public, and has received extensive and varied commendation as well suited to the use, and successfully accomplishing the end, for which it was intended. The author is not unknown to the reading public or the general Church. He is a writer of books, booklets, and other contributions to serious and scholarly literature. The readers of this *Review* are profitably and delightfully acquainted with him. After years of cumulative success in the pastorate, crowned last winter by a great revival in Springfield, O., he now goes to the chair of historical theology in Boston University, succeeding Professor H. C. Sheldon, who is transferred to the department of systematic theology. Professor Rishell has also been engaged to write the volume on "Evidences of Christianity" in the Crooks and Hurst Theological Library. As to the importance of the subject of which the book now before us treats none of the readers of the *Review* in Dr. Mendenhall's quadrennium can need to be enlightened. The higher criticism is nothing new. At the oldest it is very ancient; and in its present form, for the most part, our fathers were dealing with it thirty, forty, fifty years ago, perceiving what portion of its suggestions might possibly be true for aught anybody knew, refuting its evident mistakes, and in general resisting its disposition to palm off on us mere hypotheses for proved propositions. Mr. Gladstone, having through a long life included under the powerful scrutiny of his wide-ranging mind the tactics and antics of unevangelical critics, writes recently, "I view with especial satisfaction every effort to abate the pride and rashness of the 'higher criticism,' which, I think, should learn to be more temperate and less dictatorial before it can expect us to welcome its inroads upon the books of the Old Testament." That experienced and

expert biblicist, Professor Henry M. Harman, writes a wise and suggestive Introduction to Dr. Rishell's book; and another eminent scholar and qualified judge, Dr. Milton S. Terry, of Evanston, has this opinion: "I am acquainted with no other work which furnishes in so brief a space a more complete and satisfactory account of the methods and results of higher criticism. It is adapted to acquaint the common reader with the facts, and avoids prolix discussions." From time to time requests have come to this editorial office for information about the higher critics and their work. Almost every one of those inquiries could find in Dr. Rishell's book, in compact and readily intelligible form, the information sought for. Part I presents the aims, methods, principles, and assumptions of the higher critics. Part II deals with the general history of Old Testament criticism, present-day criticism of the Pentateuch, the age of the sources, criticism of the prophetical books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Zechariah, Jonah, Daniel, Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Lamentations, Ruth, Esther, Chronicles. Part III treats of New Testament criticism, its general history and present phases, the synoptic question, the gospels, epistles, and other books. Part IV offers an estimate of results, saying that, while criticism is not to be roundly condemned, the traditional view is not to be summarily pronounced unscholarly. Part V asks, "If the critics are right, what?" and makes some judicious and enlightening remarks on the doctrine of inerrancy, inspiration, and the date and authorship of the books of the Bible. A thousand pages of vituperation would not give the reader so clear, correct, and complete an understanding of the higher criticism as Dr. Rishell's calm, comprehensive, scholarly, and well-balanced account. Wherefore he is entitled to the thanks of many.

Mary of Nazareth and her Family. A Scripture Study. By S. M. MERRILL, D.D., Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 16mo, pp. 192. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, 85 cents.

In this volume Bishop Merrill leads an excursion into the debatable ground of Gospel history. His high authority as a guide would in any case give him followers; while the unending fascination which surrounds the person of Mary of Nazareth is an additional reason why many reverent readers will keep him company. Yet he does not write as a cowled ecclesiastic, attaching a superstitious sacredness to the musty legends of the mother Church. Rejecting those traditions which attribute to Mary "qualities unknown to herself and to the times in which she lived" as having their origin "in the midst of the grossest darkness that ever settled on the Church," he claims that the Gospel is the only authoritative record, and searches for the truth in a comparison of scripture with scripture. Discussing first the visit of the magi to the infant Jesus, he reaches a conclusion as to the place of that event which is out of the usual. This visit the bishop holds did not take place at Bethlehem, but at Nazareth, after the return of Joseph and Mary to the latter place, as told by St. Luke. Jesus himself was at least six months old, if not older; and

from Nazareth the holy family took their flight into Egypt to escape the wrath of Herod. We probably venture little in saying that this view is not the ordinary understanding of the Church, but that the consensus of the rank and file of believers establishes the epiphany at Bethlehem, within the first forty days of Christ's life. Yet the putting of Bishop Merrill is strong and engaging. While some of his claims are not beyond controversy, there is a strength in his position which is surprising. Whoever follows the argument carefully will be inclined to recast his views of the whole occurrence. As to the family life of Mary, which the bishop sets out primarily to discuss, he is no less positive and engaging. Our Lord, he claims, had other "brothers" and "sisters" in the flesh, the terms not being used in the accommodated meaning that some have ascribed to them, but in the strictest significance of those words. These sons of Joseph and Mary were James, Joses, Simon, and Judas; the daughters are unknown by name. The discussion of the constitution of the Nazarene family is too full for reproduction here; but the argument sweeps the ground from underneath the feet of the Romish Church in its antiquated claim for the perpetual virginity of Mary, and stamps its persistent Mariolatry as an unwarranted and pagan proceeding. With the outcome of the volume as a whole the reader will find himself in fullest sympathy. The book is not an apotheosis. The limitations of the inquiry are set in the brief records of the evangelists. Protestantism must recognize these limitations and make the best of the silence of the Scriptures. It goes without the saying that in style the book is logical, vigorous, attractive. No better discussion of this great subject has lately been put into such compact form.

History of Christian Doctrine. By H. C. SHELDON, Professor in Boston University. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 893. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $3.50 per set.

In this work the obvious aim is to give an unprejudiced statement of facts. In order to compass this the author endeavors to get as near as possible to original sources—the genuine and trustworthy documents of each successive age. Much use is made, it is true, of secondary sources, but these are not made a substitute for the original, except when the latter are inaccessible. The conciseness of Professor Sheldon's history indicates that he has sought to practice a strict economy of words. He keeps down the bulk of the work as far as is consistent with perfect clearness and a fair degree of fluency in style. The course of events in the different epochs is so mapped out and the subject-matter so arranged as to facilitate clear and easy comprehension on the part of student or reader. The aim of the work is evidently not dogmatic, apologetic, or polemic, but historic. The author's standpoint, which is, of course, that of evangelical Arminianism, is not concealed, but it is not obtrusively paraded in season and out of season. A Lutheran professor reports that he has used the work as a text-book with satisfaction and excellent results. Not to undertake an analysis of the book or a comparison of its various parts, we may remark that the materials of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (the fourth period in the

history) are handled with remarkable thoroughness and success. The scope of and reasons for this revised edition are indicated in the Preface. Considerable additions have been made in the interests of up-to-date accuracy and completeness. An alphabetical index of the main themes is added to the complete analysis of the work contained in the previous editions. Particularly worthy of note are the additions on "Attrition," "Boehme and Baader," and "The Theology of Ritschl." Clearness, simplicity, and fairness, with broad and industrious scholarship, characterize the volumes. They seem equally valuable for private reading and for the recitation room.

The Greek Tenses in the New Testament. Their Bearing on its Accurate Interpretation. With a Rendering of the Gospels and Notes. By the Rev. P. THOMSON, B.D., Minister of Dunning. 12mo, pp. 317. Edinburgh: J. Gardner Hitt. Price, cloth, $1.50.

A very praiseworthy and, in the main, successful attempt to convey to the English reader the fine shades of meaning locked up in the Greek tenses as employed by the gospel writers. The position of the author is that, on the whole and in the main, the writers of the New Testament used correct Greek, observing the distinctions of the classical authorities, and, hence, that these distinctions must be given due weight in our reading. The Revised Version wonderfully improved the rendering of the tenses; but the revisers appear to have overlooked some points, and others they could not adequately treat under the limitations placed upon them by the nature of their task. Mr. Thomson is able to deal with the matter more freely; and his translation is marked by admirable judgment and abundant scholarship. The changes made from the Authorized Version in the tense renderings are marked by a bold, black-faced type, so as to be very easily seized by the eye; and they are so frequent that one gets a great freshening and brightening of the narrative. We fear to begin to quote, lest our space be much exceeded; and, indeed, no single phrases would give an adequate idea of the benefit to be derived from a continuous reading of the evangelists in this most recent of the versions, which puts the ripest results of close study at the command of the unlearned. We can certainly commend the book very heartily, and hope its sale may be such as to warrant the issuing of the rest of the New Testament in the same style.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

The Evolution of Industry. By HENRY DYER, C.E., M.A., D.Sc. 12mo, pp. 307. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

This book adds something to the thinking record upon our social questions. The author defines his position in a quotation from an English socialist, that "the issue is between socialism and unsocialism," and that "the socialization of the individual" is the goal of our "evolution" in industry. The tone of the work is ethical rather than economic. Having persuaded himself that society ought to evolve a modified communism,

the author proceeds to show that society is approaching certain communistic methods. He has an Englishman's horror of "carrying it too far," and makes an arbitrary arrest of it when he thinks it ought to stop. He perceives that the individual is to be the beneficiary of socialism, and that the individual is the efficient cause of the wealth which is the bone of contention; and he wants things so arranged that the individual shall be free to do everything except to sin or to starve. All good people share this desire. The socialization of the individual is a good motto; it is merely the Christianization of him. If this process goes on at its present rate for a century or so the better men will surely make a happier industrial world. That they will make it by nationalizing what is now individual is a teaching distinctly prophetic, and probably not inspired. Uninspired prophets about our human future have never been of much value. The ethical spirit of our author is of more service. His "oughts" in the region of education, training, cooperation, and social service are helpful and, sometimes, inspiring. That in all possible ways we shall make a nobler manhood and develop individual capacity and enthusiasm for social service, and that the greatest shall be the servant of all—this is good doctrine, even though it be impaired by yoking it up with a theory of industrial evolution. On what is the main issue in the book a few more words are in place. The author believes that the industrial development of the civilized world has evolved close up to the point where large industries, controlled and managed by large companies, must pass under the control and management of the municipality and the State. The proof that nationalization of land and of industries is the next stage of the "evolution" is incomplete; indeed, it is rather assumed than proved. And there is a broad line between management and control. If the former include State ownership the line becomes broader still. We have, in fact, advanced—if we ever had to advance that way—to control of industry by the State. And as conditions change this control changes form. Let us assume that the authority of the State over corporations becomes thorough and minute. Then, presumably, the chief end of "reform" or "evolution" will be attained. As to State ownership, to many minds it looks like a backward movement rather than a forward one, since less advanced communities have "owned" in common the land, and even the workshops. Given a perfect control of large industries, the problem will be how railroads and mills shall be managed. If the State manages it must do so by agents. How shall it select its agents? It may appoint and pay every person employed, or it may employ companies to manage all details. This last is practically the system by which governments transport the mails and construct public buildings. This method is believed to be more economical and better adapted to the development of the ability and enterprise which produce industrial progress. Our author does not seem to have observed that for a long time now the two methods —by contract and by day's work—have been followed by governments, the two systems moving side by side, and the choice of either depending upon differences in the work or upon accidental or personal influences in

politics. To describe the one as a coming, and the other as a passing, system is to ignore the history of these methods.

Selected Essays of James Darmesteter. Translated from the French by HELEN B. JASTROW. Edited, with an introductory memoir, by MORRIS JASTROW, Jr., Professor in the University of Pennsylvania. Crown 8vo, pp. 310. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

This is a book to be read eclectically, and by those intelligent enough to discriminate. In its forest are toadstools and mushrooms; some berries sweet and wholesome, others bright and poisonous. It is no place for children. The author, who died in Paris last October, aged forty-five, was a distinguished scholar, a kind of prodigy in learning, a man of frail body and great brain. The son of a poor Jewish bookbinder, he was familiar from boyhood with Jewish lore, with Hebrew and Talmudic literature. He became a master of oriental philology and the foremost specialist in Zoroastrianism, translating into French the *Zend-Avesta*, which, with his comments, made three large quarto volumes. For this triumph of erudition the French Academy bestowed its prize of 20,000 francs, conferred biennially for the most noteworthy achievement of French scholarship. His Persian studies led him to Sanskrit. He was a master of Aryan languages and Semitic tongues; made contributions to Latin philology, published a volume of essays on English literature, edited several English classics, and wrote a volume of poems in which he unfolded his conception of Christ. The essays in this volume are seven in number: "The Religions of the Future," "The Prophets of Israel," "Afghan Life in Afghan Songs," "Race and Tradition," "Ernest Renan," "An Essay on the History of the Jews," and "The Supreme God in the Indo-European Mythology." The best thing in the book is his exaltation of the Hebrew prophets, chiefly in one essay, which fills eighty-eight pages. In another essay he says: "The spirit of the prophets is in the modern soul. . . . They loved everything that we love, and neither reason nor conscience has lost anything through their ideal. . . . Righteousness was to them an active force; the idea was converted into a fact before which all other facts pale. By virtue of believing in justice, they advanced it to the rank of a factor in history. They had a cry of pity for the unhappy, of vengeance for the oppressor, of peace and union for all mankind. They did not say to man, 'This world is worthless.' They said to him, 'This world is good, and thou, too, be good, be just, be pure.' They said to the wealthy, 'Thou shalt not withhold the laborer's hire;' to the judge, 'Thou shalt strike without humiliating;' to the wise man, 'Thou art responsible for the soul of the people.' And they taught many to live and to die for the right, without the hope of elysian fields. They taught the people that without ideals 'the future hangs before them in tatters;' that the ideal alone is the aim of life, and that it consists, not in the glory of the conqueror, nor in riches, nor in power, but in holding up as a torch to the nations the example of better laws and of a higher soul. And, lastly, they spread over the future, above the storms of the present, the rainbow of a vast hope—a radiant vision of a better humanity, more

exempt from evil and death, which shall no longer know war nor unrighteous judges." The essay on "The Prophets of Israel" closes thus: "Nineteen centuries have passed since the noblest spirit of Rome, in the presence of the vileness of the gods and of the priests, uttered a cry of outraged intelligence, 'Nor does piety consist in showing oneself constantly, with veiled face, before a stone, and approaching all the altars, nor in prostrating oneself on the ground and stretching out open hands toward the sanctuaries, nor in sprinkling the altars with the blood of beasts, but in contemplating the universe with a calm mind.' And eight centuries before Lucretius the God of the shepherd Amos exclaims, 'I hate your feast days, your holocausts I despise; from your offerings of fat beasts I turn away my eyes. Away from me with the noise of your songs, that I may not hear the sound of your lyres! But let righteousness gush forth as water, and justice as a never-failing spring.' The religion of the twentieth century is to be found in these two cries; it will arise out of the fusion of prophecy with science." The essay on "The History of the Jews" ends with this sentence: "Humanity, as it is fashioned in the dreams of those who desire to be called freethinkers, may with the lips deny the Bible and its work; but humanity can never deny it in its heart without the sacrifice of the best that it contains—faith in unity and hope for justice, and without a relapse into the mythology and the 'might makes right' of thirty centuries ago." Darmesteter, Renan's greatest pupil, was less Frenchy and frivolous, more serious minded, devout, cleanly, and conscientious than his master.

Adoption and Amendment of Constitutions in Europe and America. By CHARLES D. BORGEAUD. Translated by CHARLES D. HAZEN, of Smith College. With an Introduction by JOHN M. VINCENT, of Johns Hopkins University. Crown 8vo, pp. 352. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. Price, cloth, $2.

This work was awarded the Rossi prize by the law faculty of Paris in 1893. The Swiss author has distinguished himself by other careful and fertile studies in modern democracy, in which he displays both learning and sound judgment. The subject of the present volume is historically treated, and the comparison which so wide a theme permits enables the author to combine the historical and comparative methods to great advantage. In three parts the work discusses (1) "The Origin and Growth of Written Constitutions;" (2) "Royal Charters and Constitutional Compacts;" and (3) "Democratic Constitutions." The first part is properly introductory; the second is a review of an important period of progress toward constitutions, properly so called; the third contains the most interesting and valuable portions of the work. In a history of democratic written constitutions the United States constitutions take the first place. French constitutions follow, and the constitutions of Switzerland take the third and last place. The constitutions of Latin America are considered in an appendix to the book, devoted to our fundamental law. The constitution as a law over lawmaking is an American invention; and the first growths were the Plantation Covenants, the first of which was entered into by the Pilgrims in 1620. The author has

seized upon the importance of the fact that these political covenants were imitated from the Church covenants which united the Pilgrims. The theory of all our constitutions lies in the thesis of a sermon preached by Thomas Hooker in Connecticut in 1638. He affirmed, first, that the people have the right to choose their public magistrates and, also, the right "to set the bounds and limitations" of the power of these magistrates; and he employs language now become familiar, declaring that "the foundation of authority is laid in the free consent of the people." The work of Mr. Borgeaud is a valuable addition to the political literature of the United States. Like Professor Bryce, he naturalizes his work among us by making it a necessary part of our political education. Looking at us through Swiss eyes, he sees much that had escaped American eyes; and his high estimate of our constitutional record is inspiring and will serve the cause of good citizenship among us. It is one of those books which every student of our institutions will have to read if he would be perfect in his reading. But this is not all; to the general reader the book will furnish easy reading upon one of the profoundest themes.

Songs of the Soil. By FRANK L. STANTON. 12mo, pp. 217. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1.50.

Emerson once wrote: "What we call obscure condition or vulgar society is that condition and society whose poetry is not yet written, but which you shall presently make as enviable and renowned as any." At the present rate it will not be long before no condition or society will remain the poetry of which has not been written. What with Bret Harte, and John Hay, and Joel Chandler Harris, and George W. Cable, and Miss Wilkins, and Ruth McEnery Stuart, and James Whitcomb Riley, and Eugene Field, and S. W. Foss, and various others, the local vernaculars of all parts of our country and the dialects and experiences of all sorts and conditions of men seem likely to get recorded in print. By an increasing class of writers in prose and verse it has been resolved, in the spirit of Robert Burns, that the humblest and homeliest things in the world shall be taken up and written about. They are word painters who, like Millet with his brush, find and depict the meaning and the pathos of common life. Some of them are singers, and all sorts of little everyday things are caught up and knitted on the needles of their versifying, with a result in which our native human instincts have a warm, old-fashioned comfort, as hands and feet have in home-knit woolen stockings and mittens. Up from Georgia now in a volume of verse comes the happy, hopeful, ringing voice of a newspaper man, Frank L. Stanton, a staff writer on *The Atlanta Constitution*, who does but sing because he must, being so full of bubbling boyish life and merry music that no drudgery can repress it. Joel Chandler Harris (Uncle Remus) writes a warm, admiring Preface, in which are these words: "In a period that fairly reeks with the results of a sham culture that is profoundly ignorant of the verities of life, and a sham philosophy that worships mere theories, it is surely something to find a singer breathing unceremoniously into Pan's pipes and waking

again the woodland echoes with snatches of song that ring true to the ear because they come straight from the heart. . . . Here is one with the dew of morning in his hair, who looks on life and the promise thereof and finds the prospect joyous. Whereupon he lifts up his voice and speaks to the heart; and lo, here is Love, with nimble feet and sparkling eyes; and here is Hope, fresh risen as from sleep; and here is Life, made beautiful again." Artless simplicity, homely humor, common sense, touches of tenderness, pure mirth, flashes of fancy, and some imagination rollic and frolic and tumble together in these verses in a way to tickle grown men till they laugh and cry like boys. Of course the critics scowl and say this is not art; but what a dreadful world this would be if there were nothing in it but art! Some one defines eloquence as "making the primitive chords to vibrate." Frank Stanton and Whitcomb Riley, the Georgian and the Hoosier, do undeniably touch those chords; and when you are half ashamed of reading their foolish lines, all at once your inmost heart is stirred, there is a dewfall in your eyes, and a smell of sweetbrier, or honeysuckle, or hay fields, or ripe buckwheat is in the air. An old California miner described a shiftless acquaintance in the patois of the camp, "I've panned him out over and over again, but can't find any color." Stanton's *Songs of the Soil* are sprinkled with some bright grains that give a golden color and value. For a sample of his spirit and style these two verses, taken haphazard, in which he contradicts the saying of William Cullen Bryant that autumn days are "melancholy"—"the saddest of the year:"

These ain't the "melancholy days"—there's lots o' fun in sight;
The cool and bracing mornin's, an' the big oak fires at night;
The hounds upon the rabbit's trail, the wild doves on the wing,
The maiden with the red lips, and the lover with the ring!

These ain't the "melancholy days"—not much! they're full o' life,
An' you're thankful fer your sweetheart, an' you praise God fer your wife!
An' then on general principles—in view of what he's givin'—
You shout a hallelujah fer the privilege o' livin'.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The American Commonwealth. In two volumes. Volume I: The National Government—The State Government. Volume II: The Party System—Public Opinion—Illustrations and Reflections—Social Institutions. Third edition; completely revised throughout, with additional chapters. By JAMES BRYCE, Author of *The Holy Roman Empire*, M. P. for Aberdeen. 8vo. Vol. I, pp. 724; vol. II, pp. 904. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. Price per volume, cloth, $4.

Some seven years ago an eminent English scholar undertook the great, and it would seem the almost impossible, task of portraying the complex political and social institutions of the United States. In its method of treatment his publication radically differed from that once famous work, De Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*. Avoiding the "temptations of the

deductive method," it merely classified the striking features of our national practice and allowed these facts to "speak for themselves;" while De Tocqueville's volume was rather a treatise upon the principle of democracy, "full of fine observation and elevated thinking," and only appealing for its illustrations to American life. The English work, however, like the French, was the result of the author's personal observations in the United States, and these observations were supplemented, as far as his conclusions were defective, by the suggestions of various prominent American authorities whose names are a guarantee for accuracy. With such a genesis, Bryce's work on American institutions has attracted wide notice in the thinking world and has now, within less than a decade, reached its third edition. To review it is to repeat the commendations and the criticisms which have before this been written, since it is virtually a reissue of the first edition, with statistical revisions and other necessary alterations and enlargements. The first volume is an able study of the nature of our national and State governments, involving an amount of research which the most industrious investigator might dread, and a nice discrimination from whose exercise even one "to the manner born" might shrink. We may only quote the titles of some of the chapters of this volume to show the wide field which Mr. Bryce traverses, among them being the following: "The Origin of the Constitution," "Nature of the Federal Government," "Presidential Powers and Duties," "The Relations of the Two Houses," "The Courts and the Constitution," "Working Relations of the National and the State Governments," "Growth and Development of the Constitution," "Nature of the American State," "The Development of State Constitutions," "State Legislatures," "The Territories," and "Local Government." Prominent among the author's conclusions in this connection is his recognition of the merits of the American federal system. The problem with all federalized nations, he declares, is to "secure an efficient central government and preserve national unity, while allowing free scope for the diversities, and free play to the authorities, of the members of the federation." In the solution of this problem lies the "characteristic merit of the American Constitution." It "has given the national government a direct authority over all citizens, irrespective of the State governments, and has, therefore, been able safely to leave wide powers in the hands of those governments. . . . The application of these two principles, unknown to, or at any rate little used by, any previous federation, has contributed more than anything else to the stability of the American system and to the reverence which its citizens feel for it—a reverence which is the best security for its permanence." The second volume of Mr. Bryce is more miscellaneous. With lynx-eyed scrutiny he looks over the whole range of our political practices, municipal doings, and social workings, and with a skill that is refreshing he disillusionizes the complacent American who dreams that only perfection inheres in his system. All that the author writes, for instance, of "The Machine," "Rings and Bosses," and "Spoils" is true to the life, notwithstanding the recent effective attempts at purgation. With

a master hand he sketches that unctuous and illusive personage, the boss, which every American municipality knows. "An army led by a council seldom conquers; it must have a commander in chief, who settles disputes, decides in emergencies, inspires fear or attachment. The head of the ring is such a commander. He dispenses places, rewards the loyal, punishes the mutinous, concocts schemes, negotiates treaties. He generally avoids publicity, preferring the substance to the pomp of power, and is all the more dangerous because he sits, like a spider, hidden in the midst of his web. He is a boss." The chapter on "The Tammany Ring in New York City" is a stirring portrayal of what has been, but, let it be hoped, is never again to be. Incidentally, the following record of the early Tammany is refreshing: "Already in 1812 it was a force in the city, having become a rallying center for what was then called the Republican, and afterward the Democratic, party; but the element of moral aspiration does not seem to have become extinct, for in 1817 it issued an address deploring the spread of the foreign game of billiards among young men of the upper classes. At one time, too, it possessed a sort of natural history museum, which was ultimately purchased by the well-known showman, P. T. Barnum." As to woman suffrage, Mr. Bryce instances some of the reasons which lead an impartial observer to doubt "whether full political suffrage, as distinguished from school or municipal suffrage, is likely to be granted to women in many of the States of the Union within the next thirty years." Of the bar Mr. Bryce's generalization is the following: "In what may be called habits of legal thought, their way of regarding legal questions, their attitude toward changes in the form or substance of the law, American practitioners, while closely resembling their English brethren, seem on the whole more conservative." Coeducation in the Eastern States is generally held as undesirable, and American colleges and universities are in "a state of transition." Of the domestic exaltation of woman the author pleasantly speaks in a footnote: "I have heard American ladies say, for instance, that an Englishman who has forgotten his keys sends his wife to the top of the house to fetch them; whereas an American would do the like errand for his wife and never suffer her to do it for him." A tribute to American manhood it is, as truthful, let us hope, as it is complimentary! Of American oratory the writer does not speak in words altogether complimentary. In public speaking, he holds, our delivery is "deliberate and even slow." The most common American defect "is a turgid and inflated style. The rhetoric is Rhodian rather than Attic, overloaded with tropes and figures, apt to aim at concealing poverty or triteness in thought by exaggeration of statement, by a profusion of ornament, by appeals to sentiments too lofty for the subject or the occasion. The florid diction of the debating club or the solemn pomp of the funeral oration is frequently invoked when nothing but clearness of exposition or cogency of argument is needed." Finally, the author's chapter on "The Churches and the Clergy" calls for adverse notice, in the facts that the figures of the Roman Catholic membership are incorrectly given, that the ranking of Methodism in educa-

tional matters is hardly complimentary, and that the restriction of a clergyman from speaking on secular subjects *ex cathedra* is not in harmony with the new order. But the larger criticism on the chapter, made in our previous review of Mr. Bryce in 1889, still holds—that altogether too little space is devoted to the work of the Christian Church in America. To compass all its majestic influence on national life in a single chapter of nineteen pages—though the defense might urge that another chapter follows on "The Influence of Religion"—is like the measurement of the great Atlantic in a thimble! But the reader must supplement this cursory notice of a few points in Mr. Bryce's great work by his own careful study. The treatise deserves the best attention he can give it, since it is the work of a philosopher, and not of a mere compiler. And, however distasteful the experience may be, it is always wholesome to see ourselves as others see us.

Russian Rambles. By ISABEL F. HAPGOOD, Author of *The Epic Songs of Russia.* 12mo, pp. 369. New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The ideas now current about Russia are in this book denominated "absurd." Notwithstanding all that has been written of Russian customs, and that by visitors whose intelligence and judgment we have no reason to question, "the common incidents of everyday life," if we are to accept the verdict of the present author, "are not known, or are known so imperfectly that any statement of them is a travesty." Of such an existing necessity for reconstructing present views of Russian life only the specialist is qualified to judge. But, if there be such a need, let us believe that the present author, out of her varied experiences in the land of the czars, is able to lead the reader into the truth. Her volume, at least, has all the clearness of delineation that indicates the trained and accurate observer. "We imported into Russia," she says, in her opening words, "untaxed, undiscovered by the customhouse officials, a goodly stock of misadvice, misinformation, apprehensions, and prejudices, like most foreigners, albeit we were unusually well informed and confident that we were correctly posted on the grand outlines of Russian life at least." With these words as a starting point the author proceeds to describe the real Russia in successive chapters, which are in turn humorous, instructive, and charmingly reminiscent. Among the erroneous beliefs concerning Russia is the idea that, as to passports, police, and post office affairs, the official espionage is phenomenally strict. Regarding the censorship exercised over foreign literature, the writer shows that even this supervision has its flexibility. "I once asked," says she, "a member of the censorship committee on foreign books on what principle of selection he proceeded. He said that disrespect to the emperor and the Greek Church was officially prohibited; that he admitted everything which did not err too grossly in that direction, and, in fact, everything except French novels of the modern realistic school." The haggling customs of Russian trade are described in vivid coloring, as well as the strange features of Russian summer resorts, the charming home life of Count Tolstoi, interesting peasant

customs, journeying on the Volga, the methods of the Kumys cure, and the quaintness of the Nizhni Novgorod Fair. Of all these matters, however, space forbids a detailed mention. No one, however ignorant of Russia, can read and not receive new light on its national and social life; no one, however indifferent, can fail to feel the spell of the author's enthusiasm.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Religion of the Republic, and Laws of Religious Corporations. A Treatise on the American Social Structure, Civil and Religious. Being a Concise Statement of the Relations of the States of the Union to the Federal Government Constituting the United States of America, and of the Relations of the Christian Religion to Each and All: Together with the Laws of the Several States concerning Religious Societies, Corporations, Title Deeds, Wills, etc., and Forms in Harmony with the Laws. By ALPHA J. KYNETT, D.D., LL.D., Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Church Extension of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Assisted by Eminent Legal Counsel. 8vo, pp. 852. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, $3.50.

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METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., Editor.

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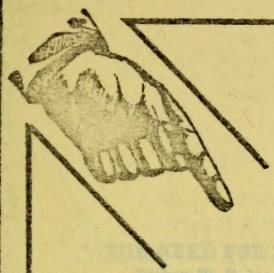

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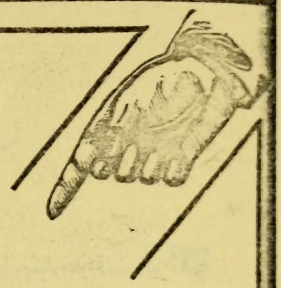

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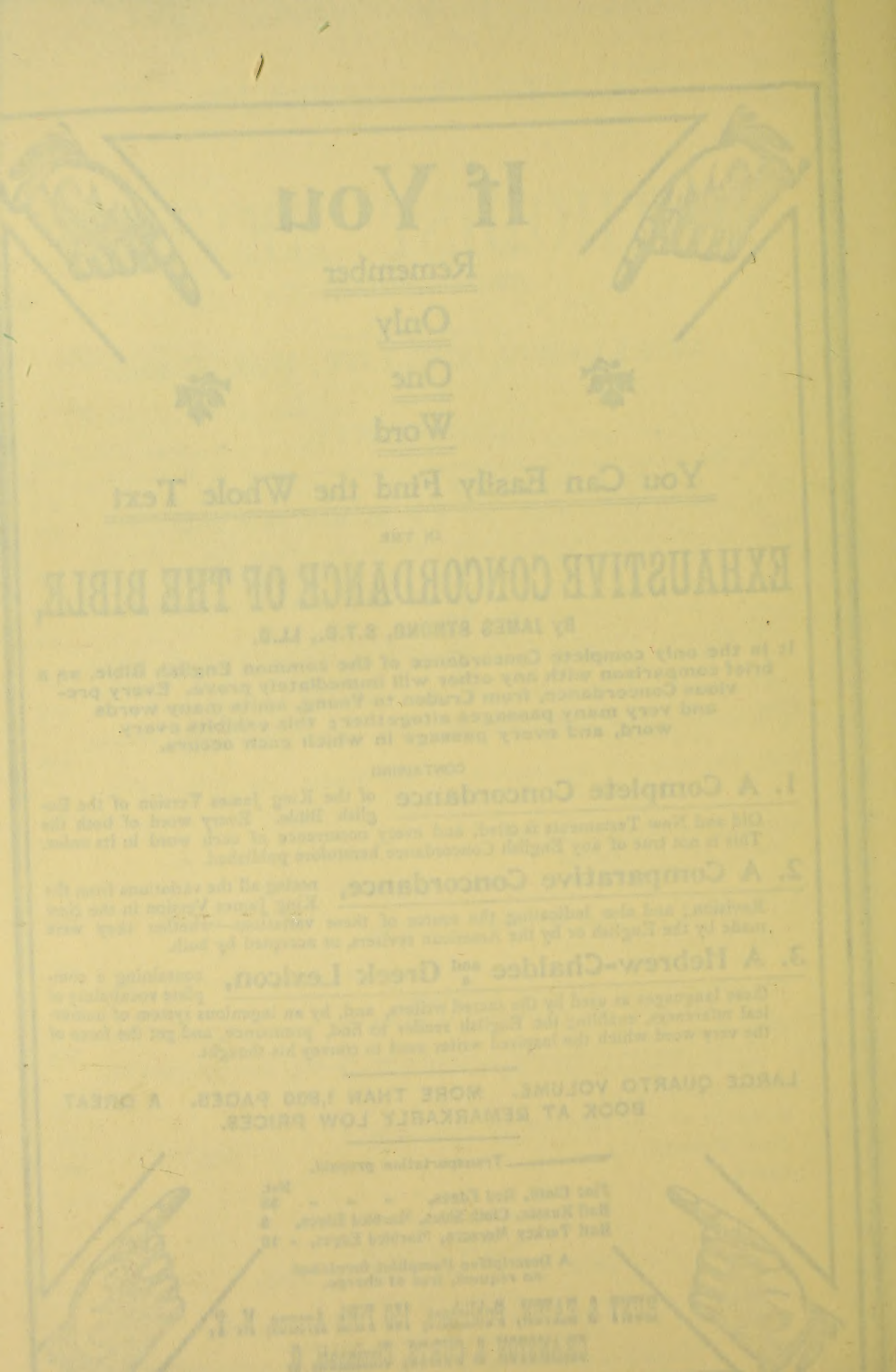

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METHODIST REVIEW.

NOVEMBER, 1895.

ART. I.—THE NEED FOR AN EVANGELISTIC MINISTRY.

To evangelize is "to instruct in the Gospel; to preach the Gospel; to convert to a belief in the Gospel." All this may be done by pen, or word of mouth, or by a holy life. In La Rochelle, which for many years was a stronghold of the Huguenots, there is an ancient cathedral whose aisles were once trodden by the bravest men and saintliest women. As one enters he may see at the right a magnificent window, in which are the figures of an apostle, life-size, and an angel. The angel has in his left hand a long trumpet, and in his right hand an open book. On the left-hand page is written, "*Tuba mirum spargens sonum;*" and on the opposite page is written, "*Liber scriptus proferetur.*" The interpretation is manifest. The written book, the Bible, which reveals the will of God and makes known the plan of redemption and salvation, shall be published; but it is the Gospel trumpet that scatters the joyful news, the wonderful news, the glad sound, far and wide over all the earth. The evangelist must be more than a writer, more than a teacher, more than a book; he must be the living incarnation of Gospel truth, and he must translate his life into words aflame with love and compel the attention of toiling, suffering, dying, despairing men and women, until they shall come out of the regions of the shadow of death into the light and liberty of the sons and daughters of God.

Every minister of the Lord Jesus Christ in spirit and purpose should be an evangelist. The Master was an evangelist.

The supreme evidence of his divinity was, not that he gave sight to the blind, strength and soundness to the lame, cleansing to the lepers, hearing to the deaf, and life to the dead, but that he preached the Gospel to the poor—that he evangelized. In truth, he was a restless, itinerant evangelist; for he went about all Galilee, "teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the Gospel of the kingdom," and, incidentally, "healing all manner of sickness and all manner of disease among the people." Almost at the instant when he was taken up from earth and a cloud received him out of the sight of his astonished followers, he said, "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations; "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature;" "And ye shall be witnesses unto me, both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." These words of the risen Christ ought to inspire every loyal heart with an all-consuming desire to spread abroad the knowledge of the truth and win this world back to its rightful allegiance. When these words take possession of the soul then we know what Paul, the great evangelist to the nations, meant when he said, "Yea doubtless, and I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord: . . . . that I may know him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable unto his death." Hence, if we study the example and commands of the Lord Jesus, if we study the thought and spirit of Paul, we must be impressed with the idea that, so long as there are careless souls to be aroused, penitents to be comforted, and saints to be instructed and encouraged, there will be needed a ministry that is thoroughly evangelistic.

The conditions of every age are peculiar. The first century of the Christian era had scarcely anything in common with the last decade of the nineteenth century. Then there was but one nation. Rome was everything. Rome claimed dominion from the Hebrides to the Sahara, from the pillars of Hercules to the banks of the Indus. The empire was magnificent, irresistible, and supposed to be eternal. Christians were few in numbers, humble in rank, powerless in politics, despised by the learned, persecuted by tyrants, and scattered here and there uncertain of the future. To-day the nominal Christians of the world number half a billion—a third of its entire population.

Christian nations control all things by sea and land. There is no *terra incognita.* Even Africa has been explored and is being rapidly apportioned among the Christian nations of Europe. Men fly from country to country as on the wings of the wind, and they send their thoughts around the world with a speed that well-nigh outstrips the light. Everybody in Christendom may know every morning at the breakfast table, or every evening at the supper table, most of the principal events that have taken place in the preceding twenty-four hours in all the lands between the frozen circles of the North and the South. We are neighbors by propinquity to everybody. There are no hermit nations; there are no somnolent peoples. The rush of events has awakened the whole mass of humanity. If there are comparatively few great and all-embracing scholars there are uncounted millions who know more or less about men and things, about the past and present, about matters with which they ought to be familiar, and equally about those they would do well to ignore and forget forever. Nor can there be any doubt in regard to the perils surrounding the Christian faith. There is no longer persecution that involves the loss of liberty, possessions, or life. We have freedom almost everywhere to worship God according to the dictates of our own consciences. But none the less are there manifest efforts to undermine the foundations upon which Christianity has been built; a persistent, malicious determination in every way to set aside the authority of the Bible; a specious or virulent antagonism to the claims of the Lord Jesus; a calm, quiet, invulnerable indifference; and an intense devotion and slavery to fame, fashion, wealth, pleasure, and all worldliness and sin. To compare the conditions of 1895 and those of the year 95, in not a few respects it will appear that the opposing forces, the enemies of Christianity, are as formidable now as then.

There is one fundamental fact we must always remember. Humanity itself, in all essentials, is always the same. This is true of all the races now living. It always has been true, and always will be true. The ideas of ought not and ought, of sin and penalty, of God and responsibility are thoroughly ingrained in the nature of man. They are found in all lands; they cannot be obliterated. It is equally true that souls everywhere desire and long to be delivered from the burden—may we not say

from the guilt, the pollution, and the power?—of sin. Human souls are not orphaned, they are not outcast, they are not forgotten. God has them in mind, and his love flows out to all, and he will happily be found by those who feel after him. Human hearts are hungry for pity, compassion, sympathy, love. This hunger is just as natural and just as universal as the hunger of the body; and is it not reasonable to suppose that some provision should be made to satisfy this heart-hunger? The very existence of hunger proves that somewhere there must be an adequate supply of what is needed to appease the inevitable longings of the deathless spirit. The one sufficient, supreme, divine remedy for all ills, whether of individuals and of humanity, is the Gospel of the Son of God; for it is the infinite, omnipotent, all-efficient power of God, the eternal and ever-blessed heavenly Father whose name is Love, unto salvation—salvation of soul and body, for time and eternity—to everyone, of every race and nation, that believeth. The remedy is brought within the reach of everyone, and it may be obtained upon conditions that may easily be complied with by all.

We need to remember always that the Gospel is complex and comprehensive. There is much more to it than is embraced in that puerile proverb, "Be good and you will be happy." When it is assumed that such a proverb covers the case we relegate the Gospel to the low standard of Confucius and Mencius. There must be the foundation of good conduct in the intelligent apprehension of truth; and so the Gospel implies the search for truth. The Gospel has its greatest triumphs in such intellects as those of Paul and Newton and Wesley. The Lord recognized the use of the intellect when he said, "Search the Scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life: and they are they which testify of me." And the use of the intellect in the consideration of the Gospel is commended in that memorable passage where it is said, "These were more noble than those in Thessalonica, in that they received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the Scriptures daily, whether those things were so." But the Gospel requires faith and belief, because there are depths and heights of divine wisdom that can never be fully grasped by the human understanding, and because human reason may not be able to perfectly adjust all the relations of revealed truth. "For we walk by faith, not by sight."

In these days in which we find ourselves living much is said in regard to creeds, as though they were of the least possible importance. There are some so-called Christian ministers who evidently think, with the unbelieving poet, that a man's creed must be right who lives a respectable and decent life, forgetting the restraining power that men of right creeds have on all about them. The Gospel is a creed—an imperative, intolerant, God-ordained creed. "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned." These are the words of Jesus, and they imply the existence of a creed—of something to be believed. Men with no moral convictions are the men without creeds. Men who excuse sin and make it a trivial thing in the moral universe are the men without creeds. Men who think God is careless, indifferent, oblivious in regard to the violations of the divine law are the men without creeds. Men who make myths of heaven and hell, of the resurrection and the judgment, are the men without creeds. The men who, while they maintain the appearance of respectability and good conduct, are yet worldly, self-indulgent, pleasure-seeking, and selfish are the men without creeds. Genuine Christian character independent of the Christian creed is well-nigh impossible. Jesus was a creed-maker. Hear him: "Ye believe in God"—the God of the Scriptures, the omniscient, omnipresent, omnipotent, the eternally self-existing God. "Ye believe in God"—the law-maker and administrator of the material and moral realms, the watchful, faithful, loving friend of all men. This faith in God is the first article of this creed. And the second is like unto it: "Believe also in me." Believe in me as the Messiah, whose coming has been foretold from Genesis to Malachi; in me, of whom Moses and the Psalms and the prophets all testify; in me, the only begotten Son of God, the I Am of the Old Testament, equal with the Father, self-existent from all eternity, the Redeemer and Saviour of mankind. The Lord Jesus had no idea of character without creed, and it would seem that there must be something wrong with a man's head or heart who inveighs against creeds.

What this present hour needs is that God's people "should earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints. For there are certain men crept in unawares, who were before of old ordained to this condemnation, ungodly

men, turning the grace of God into lasciviousness, and denying the only Lord God, and our Lord Jesus Christ." Furthermore, as John Wesley says, "we are to contend earnestly, yet humbly, meekly, and lovingly, for the faith, for all fundamental truths, once delivered by God, to remain unvaried forever." This is no time for laxity and latitudinarianism. The imperative duty of this eventful hour is to refuse to waver "like a wave of the sea driven with the wind and tossed." "For we are made partakers of Christ, if we hold the beginning of our confidence steadfast unto the end," "till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ: that we henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive." These, and such as these, are men with creeds, and they are the men to stand up against the tide of irreligion, unbelief, and carelessness of God and his truth that wrathfully or insidiously would undermine the bulwarks of our faith and hope. A ministry that is really and truly evangelistic will stand upon this ground, and under all circumstances will proclaim the truth as it is in Jesus. Such a ministry will not spend its time in apologizing for the truth or in simply defending the truth; but, rather, it will stand out boldly, take the aggressive, and be ready always "with all faithful diligence to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's word." There can be no possible substitutes for such methods and for such a ministry. The more pronounced, definite, and biblical are the views of the minister, the more evangelistic will he be and the better adapted to all the exigencies of these extraordinary times.

We must not lose sight of the great truth that the Gospel, while it involves the use of the intellect, even the highest powers of the greatest intellect, and while it requires a definite creed based on the word of God, also takes cognizance of the affectional nature of man. "With the heart man believeth unto righteousness; and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation." The ideal of some people with superficial culture and timid natures is that a Christian should be a bit of ice—clear ice, it may be, but devoid of emotion. They have not the

remotest appreciation of the experiences of Jesus and John and Paul, or of the unnumbered millions of holy souls that have ached and throbbed and agonized for sinners in danger of eternal doom, and have exulted and sung and shouted over victories won. To live without emotion, to suppress all manifestations of love and joy, to be good without a creed, to be a proper, impassible thing instead of a sympathetic soul, to be a polished marble statue instead of a living man, seems to be the height of possible attainment. These are the people who would have driven the Syrophenician woman away from Christ; who would have sent the man home from his neighbor's house without bread; who would have stood by the grave of Lazarus with never a sigh heaving the breast, or a quiver on the lip, or a tear brimming the eyes. These are the people who would not have rejoiced with the woman who found her lost money, or with the man who found his wandering sheep, or with the father of the prodigal when his poor, wayward, sinning boy came home. Thank God, the Gospel is complex and comprehensive, meets the wants of all men, and appeals to all the powers, capabilities, and faculties of our natures. It is not a poor, one-sided, unsymmetrical, deformed thing, like a post in the ground to which young twigs are tied to keep them straight; it is an inspiration, an influence, an energy, an attraction, a divine manifestation of truth, pity, compassion, love, combined with omniscient power for the uplift of the soul and the salvation of the race.

The fact that the Gospel is such as has now been indicated does not imply that all clergymen are evangelistic, or that all the clergymen of any one denomination are evangelistic. We need not search closely in order to find those who are ranked as Christian ministers who have very little sympathy with the evangelistic spirit. There are quite a few, taking all clergymen into account, who make but little use of the Gospel in their ministrations. They know Shakespeare better than they know the Bible; they are more familiar with the heathen poets than with the Psalms; they are more earnest readers of the novels of the day than of the epistles of Paul. They pride themselves on their scholarly attainments, and are never so well pleased as when they are recognized as belonging to the literary class. Their sermons are essays; their themes are poetical,

fanciful, impractical. The people listen, and if they receive any impression it will be expressed by "How beautiful! how soothing!" These preachers have little use for the Commandments or the Lord's Sermon on the Mount; and the ethics of the Bible is too exacting and severe to command their attention or challenge an honest effort to fulfill its requirements. Such preachers are blind leaders of the blind, if, indeed, they have enough of plan or purpose to lead anybody. Duty, conscience, retribution, eternity, cross-bearing, Christ-following are all ignored. If the intellect is gently agitated, if the æsthetic nature is slightly stimulated, if an indefinite hope of future good and eternal well-being is faintly produced, it is about all that is anticipated or expected. It would be well for the Church and the world if such preachers, when they pass off the stage of action or inaction, might leave no successors. They are cumberers of the ground—barren fig trees. They are not evangelistic, and they have no desire to be. If Christianity had to depend upon them for continuance and vitality it would practically die out in the course of two or three generations. We need a ministry of the heart, as well as of the head, a ministry that will appeal to all the God-given faculties of the emotional nature, and so win men to that service which is perfect freedom and to that joy which is unspeakable and full of glory. The human heart is a harp of a thousand strings, and we need a ministry that can sweep with loving touch all chords and stir the whole being. An evangelistic ministry, warm-hearted, full-souled, loving, brotherly, can do this; and no other can. Such a ministry was never more needed than now.

Then we have a class of ministers who never forget the mint, anise, and cummin. They are careful about the traditions, like those of whom we read in the New Testament who, laying aside the commandments of God, gave themselves with all diligence to the frequent washing of their hands and of pots and cups and tables and brazen vessels. They are taken up with rites and ceremonies, and think more of posture and dress, of bookstands and altars, of robes and mantles, of candles and crucifixes, of censers and incense, of ordinations and historic fables, of rituals and church authority, than they do of the great and eternal truths of God's word and a holy life. The letter that killeth is everything to them, while the spirit that giveth life is well-

nigh forgotten or buried without the hope of resurrection. It is sad but true, as the history of the ages proves, that a ritualistic ministry is not qualified to represent a living Christ or to do the work which a waiting world so sadly needs. There is absolutely no force, no power for good, in such as these; they cannot reclaim this world and bring it back to God. Under their leadership the Church will drift away from Christ and will become frivolous, worldly, formal, dead, until at last Christ will say: "I have somewhat against thee, because thou hast left thy first love. Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent."

Besides these two classes of ministers just mentioned we have a third. They are not found in large numbers in the evangelical Churches, though here and there one may be found; they abound in the so-called liberal Churches; they are in this country and England and on the Continent. It would be somewhat difficult to mention a name that would exactly describe them. They commonly assume to be "advanced thinkers," "progressive theologians," "higher critics," "profound scholars," "abreast-of-the age, up-to-date investigators of all knowledge." They are really flavored with Renan, Strauss, Baur, Wellhausen, with a lingering trace of Astruc, Voltaire, Paine, and Spinoza. They know better than all the Jews, and all the evangelical historical students of all ages, who wrote the Pentateuch and Joshua and the Psalms and Isaiah and Daniel. They are very largely given to evolving their knowledge from their own inner consciousness. They seem to lack sincerity, modesty, honesty, and candor. When they finish their work on the Holy Scriptures there is little left but a wreck. They eliminate prophecies, especially those concerning Christ; they throw out everything that is supernatural; they make the authors of some of the most wonderful and magnificent portions of the Old Testament to be unknown, unnamed, and unheard-of men, who lived a thousand years after Moses and are supposed to have been among the exiles of Babylon. The work done by these destructive, rationalistic, arrogant critics would be bad enough if confined to the Old Testament; but, if possible, the destruction they make with

the New is still worse. They degrade Christ; they will not tolerate the idea of miracles; they seem to have a virulent hatred of what is spiritual and supernatural. Whatever these people may call themselves, whatever in their pride of scholarship and opinion they may assume to be, there is one name they ought to be compelled to wear. They are destructive rationalists. They exalt human reason to a dizzy height, and then bow before its dictates. Unbroken, unimpeached history, that goes back for thousands of years, has no weight with them. They make a Babel of their discussions, for no two of them agree; they have added but little, if any, additional light of research and scholarship to that already in possession of evangelical, historical, theological students. They are destructive to the last degree, for the natural and logical outcome of their teachings must be the loss of all faith in the Bible as the word of God. Good men may be deluded by these destructives and still hold on to their goodness; converted men to some extent may be drawn away by the babblings of these destructives and yet hold on to their hope in Christ; but the inevitable tendency of this destructive rationalism is toward deism and atheism. It is a cause of unspeakable regret that any man holding these views should be tolerated in any evangelical pulpit or school of theology, for the ultimate outcome will be as baleful as the exhalations of the deadly upas tree.

In contrast to these three classes of so-called clergymen, or ministers, it affords supreme satisfaction to know that we have an evangelical and evangelistic ministry. They are not all found in any one Church. They are in every Church where the name of Jesus is held in reverence as that of the second person in the adorable Trinity, where he is loved and worshiped, where he is known as the all-atoning Lamb of God. This evangelistic ministry does not despise, much less ignore, sound learning or the thorough cultivation of the intellect; for it believes that, other things being equal, the man with the best brain and most carefully and wisely trained is the best evangelist. Nor does it undervalue, much less pour contempt on, creeds. It holds to the Bible, first, last, and always, as the source of all truth essential to salvation; but at the same time it claims a part in the heritage of the ages and takes the Apostles' Creed as a wise and helpful formulation of doctrine. It has

a hope, and is ready and able to declare the reason for it. It believes, and therefore it speaks. Its faith is "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." It believes the whole eleventh chapter of Hebrews. It believes in the inspiration and authority of all the Scriptures. It believes in the supernatural, in miracles, in the absolute divinity of Jesus, in his atonement, resurrection, and ascension to the right hand of God. It believes in the resurrection, in the judgment, in immortality, in heaven and hell. It believes that every penitent soul may come to God in the name of Jesus Christ and find pardon, life, and salvation. It believes that the time is coming when "the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea;" and in this faith it expects the Gospel to spread abroad, until the last son of Adam shall hear the joyful sound.

If ever there was a time when such a ministry, with such a faith, was needed it is now. Christ has told us that the time is coming when "there shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars; and upon the earth distress of nations, with perplexity; the sea and the waves roaring; men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth." No mightier problems ever confronted Christianity than at this hour. What are we to do with labor and capital? What with the corruptions of society? What with the venality of statesmen and legislators? What with worship of wealth and power? What with the wronged and oppressed in this land and all lands? What with the vast masses of the illiterate of Christendom? What with the hordes of tramps and the vile and dangerous classes? What with the poor of the great cities? What with the waste of naval and military armament? What with the awful drink habit and the fearfully malignant and curseful drink traffic? What with the unconverted, unenlightened, unevangelized thousand millions of heathenism.

Surely such a condition of affairs as is revealed by these questions may well appall the stoutest heart and try the stanchest faith. The supreme hope of the world is in a genuine, cultured, believing, rejoicing, evangelistic ministry. Such a ministry can answer questions and resolve doubts; can state, explain, defend the truths of the Gospel when formulated into creeds;

can exemplify the blessed, joyous, conscious experience of a personal salvation. This world is not to be won to Christ *en masse.* From this time on it is to be hand-to-hand work. The ministry is the divinely appointed leadership of the people. If the ministry is evangelistic the people will be the same. And when the Church and ministry are both evangelistic all barriers to the progress of the cause of Christ will be removed, the great and pressing questions that demand attention will be solved, the Gospel message will be carried to all lands, and the morning of the millenmium will be hastened in its coming. Why may it not become the all-absorbing desire of every minister to enter with all his soul upon evangelistic work, which includes the enlightenment and conversion of sinners and the building up of all converts in the truth of the Gospel? In order to this there must be entire consecration of all that is ever called "my" or "mine;" a devotement of all powers to the service of the Master; a seeking for the baptism of the Holy Ghost, for purity, inspiration, and service, until the gift is bestowed; a holy, blameless life; and ceaseless toil for the salvation of the souls of men. That God may give the Churches and the world an evangelistic ministry ought to be the ceaseless prayer of every loyal Christian heart.

W. F. Mallalieu.

Art. II.—A STUDY IN SOCIOLOGY.

Sociology is as yet a study, rather than a science. The term itself is of recent origin. It was coined or invented by Auguste Comte, and was used by him in his *Cours de Philosophie Positive* to designate that department of his philosophy which treats of social phenomena, the laws that govern them, and their relation to each other. His was the first attempt to segregate the isolated phenomena of human society from their physical environments and, by combining them into related groups, to explain and account for them in a scientific manner. He thus paved the way for the creation and construction of a new science—the science of society—to which he gave the name of "sociology."

Mr. Herbert Spencer adopted the term invented by Comte, and incorporated the newborn science, remolded somewhat in order to make it harmonize with his evolutionary doctrines, into his "synthetic philosophy," thus giving it vogue among English-speaking people. He also greatly broadened its scope, since under it, as a convenient and elastic cognomen, he ranges a vast amount of heterogeneous matter pertaining to almost every conceivable phase of human relations, thought, and activity. He assigns to sociology the consideration of all physical, emotional, intellectual, political, ethnic, moral, and religious phenomena arising from or connected with the life and history of mankind. He holds that it is its province to give an account of the origin and development of all domestic, ceremonial, industrial, economic, civil, political, commercial, ecclesiastical, and religious institutions and customs existent among men, and that it must point out and describe their mutual relationships and interdependencies and their effect on each other and on society at large.

Constituted on the Spencerian basis sociology must become generic and all-inclusive, rather than a science with well-defined lines of demarcation from other sciences, and must embrace in its wide sweep everything that pertains to social phenomena of all kinds and grades—in fact, everything that pertains to human life and nature, viewed from a social standpoint. With such a scope, sociological science becomes but a

synonym for a vague generalization, covering a field of thought and investigation so vast and various that no single mind can thoroughly traverse, much less master, it, and requiring a scientific preparation such as no one is capable of obtaining, since all of the organized sciences have grown to such magnitude that the best-equipped student can hardly hope to master thoroughly and completely any one of them in a single lifetime, much less such a congeries of sciences as must necessarily be included in a sociological system like that devised and outlined by Mr. Spencer and his followers. Besides this, the relationships existing between such various and widely divergent subjects are not infrequently so slight and inconsequential as to render it almost, if not, indeed, quite, impossible to combine them into one harmonious whole and thus bring them into scientific unity.

As a result of the attempt to extend the sway of the sociological scepter over so wide a domain, there is at present no general agreement as to what shall constitute a distinctive course of sociological study and training. The courses prescribed in the leading educational institutions, both of Europe and this country, are about as various as the institutions that prescribe them or the men that formulate and teach them, thus furnishing a new and marked fulfillment of the old Latin proverb, "*tot homines, quot sententiæ.*" This statement is fully corroborated by the following brief extract from a lecture delivered before the American Academy of Political and Social Science by Professor Giddings, who occupies the chair of sociology in Columbia College:

> Several universities in Europe and America have introduced courses in sociology; yet there is no definite agreement among scientific men as to what the word shall be understood to mean. In some of the university courses it stands for a philosophy of society; in others it denominates a study of the institutions of tribal communities; in yet others it is applied to highly special studies of pauperism, crime, and philanthropy. In the literature of sociology, also, an equally varied usage may be found. Special investigators employ the word in senses that are unrecognized by the systematic writers.

These facts, however, in no wise invalidate the claim put forth for sociology as a possible science of great importance and value. They only go to prove that as yet it is in a forma-

tive state, that its scope is not clearly defined, that its province is not fully determined, and serve to substantiate the truthfulness of the statement made in the opening sentence of this article—that sociology is as yet a study, rather than a science.

This statement, however, in no wise militates against the possibility of differentiating and establishing in the near future a complete and well-defined science of society, since it is a well-known fact of history that no science has ever sprung into existence suddenly and fully equipped, as Minerva is fabled to have sprung from the cloven skull of Jove. All of the sciences in their incipiency existed in a nebulous condition, with a modicum of truth as a nucleus. Gradually sloughing off all extraneous matter and divesting themselves of all excrescences, they have slowly and steadily developed into their present condition of comparative perfection. The noble science of astronomy was for long centuries enshrouded in the nebulous haze of astrology, before it attained to its present magnificent development and gave to the world its luminous revelation of the vastness of the universe and the everlasting, harmonious march of the glittering hosts of heaven. The wizard spell, the weird enchantment, and the wild vagaries of alchemy were the ignoble precursors of modern chemistry. For more than a century geology has been striving to reveal the meaning of the mysterious, hieroglyphic records stored away in the lithographic volumes of the strata of the earth, but has not yet become a perfect interpreter of their hidden meaning. Sociology is the youngest of the sciences, having come into existence only a few decades ago, and has to deal with most intricate and complex problems. When the slow development and perfecting of the other great sciences are taken into account, it should excite neither wonder nor discouragement that a complete science of society has not yet been fully differentiated, that its province is not clearly defined, that its facts are not yet thoroughly co-ordinated, or that its votaries are not in full accord or exact agreement as to what shall constitute its boundaries and scope.

One encouraging and important result may certainly be predicated, however, as accruing from these years of study and investigation along sociological lines, and that is that there is gradually coming to be a consensus of opinion, on the part both of teachers and students of sociology, that the construction of

a valid science of society can only become possible by a complete differentiation of social subjects from all adventitious relationships and by the elimination from the field of investigation of all material not directly concerned with the development of the social life of the race. Because of this, students of sociology will henceforward direct their attention more especially to the consideration of such things as pertain to the origin, form, growth, structure, classification, relation, and development of social phenomena, the functions and forces operative among them, the laws by which they are governed, the relation of the individual to his environments and to society at large, the means and measures necessary to be adopted to secure the amelioration of social ills, the betterment of the social condition, and the final perfecting of the social order. Confined within such limits, the construction of a science of society clearly becomes a feasible task if attempted by right methods and on a right basis—a task, too, in every way worthy of the best efforts of the best minds of the age, the accomplishment of which will greatly promote the welfare of all mankind.

The trend of events and the condition of affairs during the last decade have tended to specially direct public attention to, to greatly intensify interest in, and to stimulate the study of, social problems. Everywhere throughout the civilized world are to be seen startling symptoms of social unrest. Everywhere the masses are restless and restive. The air is full of angry murmurs betokening popular discontent and dissatisfaction with the present order of things; and this general disquietude is producing a widespread movement, more or less radical, toward the disintegration and dissolution of the present social order or, at least, its reorganization on a different basis. The world is evidently entering upon a new era of social evolution, or revolution. Signs sinister, baleful, and ominous of direst danger are all too numerous. The fierce, fiendish outbursts of anarchy, the barbarous recklessness of maddened mobs, the wanton destruction of life and property, the disrespect and disregard of law, the rapid increase of the dangerous classes who are ever ready for riot and rapine, present a congeries of evils so portentous as to excite the gravest apprehension, even among those least easily alarmed, for the stability and safety of both society and the State.

The twentieth century, soon to step into the historical arena, bids fair to be the melancholy heir to unsolved social problems which surpass in momentousness and magnitude any that civilization has hitherto encountered, and before which all oracles are dumb. With the passing of the centuries the gregarious instinct of the race seems steadily to intensify and to impel, with resistless, unreasoning impulse, the population of the world to crowd, in ever-increasing numbers, into great cities, which become great sores upon the body politic; and these great sores are constantly increasing in size and numbers in every quarter of the civilized world, presaging grave danger to the State. Inventions multiply. Labor-saving machines, with brawny arms of iron and tireless hands of steel, usurp the place of the human workman, who either sits idly by in sullen silence watching his unfeeling, relentless, remorseless supplanter and competitor, or joins the great and constantly increasing army of tramps who are ever wandering aimlessly to and fro over the face of the earth. The social situation is rendered still more embarrassing by the fact that the population of the world is steadily and, in some quarters, rapidly increasing; and that annually millions of hungry mouths, and twice as many millions of idle hands, which must in some way be furnished employment or else become sources of mischief to society, are being added to the multitudinous masses that already find it all, or even more, than they can do to hold their own in the stern, severe struggle for existence. Amidst such a perplexing, portentous condition of affairs it should not be a matter of wonder or surprise if, at times, even the sturdiest and stanchest social reformers should lose heart and hope, nor that they should feel like joining in the pessimistic wail that bursts from the lips of Hamlet, when he is overwhelmed for a season by the difficulties and disasters that storm in upon him:

> The time is out of joint: O cursed spite,
> That ever I was born to set it right!

It is in times such as these which are now upon us, whose troublesome turbulence and dolorous difficulties have been set forth in dismal periods in the preceding paragraphs, but which have not even then been outlined in as dark a setting as circumstances would well warrant that the need of a trustworthy sci-

ence of society is most deeply felt; just as one feels most in need of a physician when struck with a painful and dangerous disease. But, as in times of sore sickness one wants to be ministered to, not by an empiric or a quack, but by a well-trained physician whose skill has been duly tested, so, when the social organism is convulsed with the pangs and throes of what may prove either its dissolution or its transition into a better and higher condition, there is deepest need of a practical science of society, that can prescribe a certain remedy and devise means and methods whereby the disjointed times can be set right and the jarring, discordant social elements may be brought into enduring harmony and perfect unity.

The various attempts that have been made and that are being made to formulate and construct a valid and satisfactory science of society may be conveniently classified into three groups, which may appropriately be designated, according to the methods severally employed, as the historical, the empirical, and the Christian systems of sociology. All of these systems have this in common—that they begin, as all sociological science must, with the consideration of the primary and fundamental phenomena pertaining to the social life and condition of the race. Starting from this common basis and pursuing each its separate way, they gradually develop into systems as diverse as are the several methods employed and the ideas and principles which dominate them.

The historical method is the one pursued by Mr. Spencer and his followers. It is based solely on facts deduced from the investigation of historical data, interpreted from an evolutionary standpoint. Following this lead, its pathway is a dismal one and is prophetic of a no less dismal outcome. It begins in the blackness of barbarism and advances slowly and painfully amidst savage superstitions, crude customs, and rudimental institutions. For centuries it wends its weary way amidst contending armies, over bloody battlefields, among impoverished peoples, and through devastated lands lighted with the lurid glare of conflagrant homes, harvests, villages, and cities. Anon, it is cheered somewhat by the advent of civilization, which, however, in many instances, is scarcely more than a refinement of barbarism, and by the dawning gleam of science, which, in its hands, gives only a baleful, material-

istic light. In each recurring cycle of human history it is confronted with the stern, disheartening fact that social and civil organizations, institutions, and conditions only make progress until they attain to a certain maximum of vitality and completeness ; then they gradually decline, decay, and disappear, and a new start must be made by a new people, in new environments.

Even after many centuries have elapsed, during which evolutionary processes have been continually active under favorable circumstances, it is apparent, even in lands where civilization and society have attained their highest development, that while the clangor of conflict may have ceased the warlike spirit still remains, having only taken on another form. Indeed, it may be said to exist to-day as a more dangerous factor than when it manifested itself in open, bloody contests between hostile nations, since now society itself is everywhere seen to be divided into contending factions. The masses are arrayed against the classes, the hostile race spirit having been transformed into a more rancorous and dangerous class spirit. The forces of labor, organized into societies, associations, and trades unions, are arrayed against trusts, combines, syndicates, and corporations, the huge battalions of capital, so that these two mighty factors of modern civilization, which ought to be, and naturally are, friends and allies, are separated into hostile and contending camps.

Under the iron *régime* of *laissez faire*—the fetich of the historical school of sociology—the most glaring and iniquitous social and civil inequalities have obtained. The shrewd, the strong, and the unscrupulous, governed only by the maxim "Might makes right," exploit the weak and oppress the poor. With the continued concentration of wealth in the hands of the few, the laboring classes are in constantly increasing danger of being reduced to a condition of industrial serfdom and of becoming dependent on the churlish bounty of the great moneyed magnates for the chance of earning their daily bread. Thus through the advancing ages the arrogant oppression of the strong, the selfish luxury of the rich, and the dire poverty of the poor have combined to produce such a condition of injustice, inequality, misery, wretchedness, wickedness, and crime as to apparently justify the following well-known pessi-

mistic utterance of Professor Huxley, himself a chief priest of the Spencerian system of sociology:

> I know of no study which is so unutterably saddening as that of the evolution of humanity as it is set forth in the annals of history. Even the best of modern civilizations appears to me to exhibit a condition of mankind which neither embodies any worthy ideal nor even possesses the merit of stability. I do not hesitate to express the opinion that, if there is no hope of a large improvement of the condition of the greater part of the human family, if it is true that the increase of knowledge, the winning of a greater dominion over nature, which is its consequence, and the wealth which follows upon that dominion are to make no difference in the extent and the intensity of want, with its concomitant physical and moral degradation, amongst the masses of the people, I should hail the advent of some kindly comet which would sweep the whole affair away as a desirable consummation.

But historical sociology can give no well-grounded hope of improvement in the social condition, since it is shut up by its methods to the deductions gathered from historical data only; and the dismal failures which it has observed in the past are only doleful prophecies of a more dismal future, of which the present unsatisfactory, unsettled, and distracted condition of affairs in the social realm is sadly significant. Such considerations make it plainly evident that historical sociology has no panacea to offer for the numberless ills of mankind; neither has it any solution to propose for the perplexing problems that distract the world to-day. Hence it can never become the savior of society.

Theoretical sociology, on the other hand, discards entirely the slow, plodding methods of historical sociology, and only takes cognizance of the past and present condition of the race in order to note its defects. It then proceeds to devise an ideal system, or systems, from which, according to its view, all the defects of the existing social order shall be eliminated, and which, from the standpoint of its constructor, will, if adopted by mankind, free the world from all social ills and disorders. Being almost wholly empirical in its methods and giving free scope to the imagination, it is the favorite field for social *doctrinaires*, whimsical visionaries, and socialistic dreamers. Such methods of constructing an ideal social order were in vogue long before a science of society was dreamed of or thought possible. Plato's *Republic* was the first example of

the kind; portions of St. Augustine's *Civitas Dei* are to the same purport. To these are to be added, in increasing numbers, More's *Utopia*, Rousseau's *State of Nature*, and the theories of Fourier, St. Simon, Owen, and others of the socialistic school too numerous to mention. Bellamy's *Looking Backward* furnishes the most recent example of this method, and is only specially noteworthy because of the prominence awarded it by the public press, and because of the widespread impression created among the unthinking classes that the author of it was to become the prophet of a new era. Since a social system has never been invented and cannot be made to order, but must necessarily be a growth resulting from antecedent conditions and causes and developing in accordance with the laws and forces that are operative in human nature and society, it is evident that all merely ideally constructed systems of social order must be impossible of realization and hence barren of results and unworthy of more than passing consideration.

From the pessimism and despair resulting from the historical method and from the visionary, impracticable vagaries of theoretical sociology, we now turn to consider the feasibility of constructing a valid science of society on a Christian basis. It is a self-evident proposition that every science must have its basis in the domain and in the elements on which the science itself is based. Geology cannot have its roots in the air, but must be firmly planted in the rocky strata of the earth. Botany cannot flourish in the mineral, but only in the vegetable, kingdom. So sociology, being the science of society, must have its basis in the element or elements upon which society itself is constituted. But that can only be predicated as a basal element of any science which is universal, that is, which is always and everywhere present in the domain in which the science is regnant and over which it presides. The one distinctive and universal element, that always and everywhere pervades the social life of mankind, is the religious element. Wherever man is found, no matter how diverse may be the environments or in what else he may be lacking, religion, in some form, is a universal concomitant of the social life of the race. Plutarch wrote, more than eighteen centuries ago,

> If you go through all the world you may find cities without walls, without letters, without rulers, without money, without theaters, but

never without temples and gods, or without prayers, oaths, prophecies, and sacrifices used to obtain blessings and benefits or to avert curses and calamities.

Since Plutarch's time all quarters of the world have been explored and many new races have been discovered, and people have been found without houses, without raiment, without arts and sciences, without laws, but none without a religion of some sort any more than without speech.

In addition to the fact of the universality of religion, it is patent to every careful student of sociology that society everywhere crystallizes around the religious dogmas of a people, so that their customs, manners, laws, and institutions are mainly the outcome and results of their religious belief. Thus the scenes pictured on the monuments, tombs, and temples of Egypt, portraying the social life of the people, are but a rescript of the religious ideas that dominated the ancient Egyptians. It is the archaic, conservative spirit inherent in the religious system of China that has petrified the civilization and customs of that country and has rendered them all but impervious to the progressive influence and tendencies of the passing centuries. The system of caste, that rests like a withering blight on the civilization of India, has its origin in the religious dogmas that have for ages held sway over that land; and its baleful effects will be felt as long as they continue to dominate its people. It is the progressive and inspiring spirit of Christianity, which is preeminently the religion of the Anglo-Saxons, that has made them, in all the widely separated quarters of the globe where they are found, the freest in their institutions, the most progressive in spirit and character, and the most rapid in their development of all the people in the world, and has elevated them to the commanding position they have come to occupy among the nations of the earth. Such facts as these conclusively show that religion is the most powerful factor in the life of a nation, and fully justify the statement made by Goethe, that "religion is the deepest, nay, the one theme of the world's history to which all others are subordinate."

But the idea of a superior, superhuman power or divinity of some sort lies at the root of all religious life and thought. All religious systems must begin with it and build upon it.

As, however, it has already been shown that religion is the basis on which society is constitued, and from which it takes both its form and character, it follows, as a necessary corollary, that the establishment of a valid science of society on an atheistic or agnostic basis becomes a logical impossibility, since human society and the science of it both require a theological conception of some sort on which to build. It is also evident that the more perfect the theological conception is on which they are based the more perfect will be the social system derived from it and the science resulting therefrom. It is universally conceded that Christianity furnishes the highest and most perfect conception of Deity that the world has ever known; and, as the true conception of man depends on a right conception of God, which Christianity alone makes known, it necessarily follows that the science of society, which is the science of man in all his relations, can only be properly and correctly formulated on a Christian basis.

This conclusion is strongly reenforced by the fact that it is now admitted as a cardinal truth of history that "the wide interval between the peoples who have attained the highest social development and the lowest races is not, mainly, the result of a difference in intellectual, but a difference in ethical, development;" or, in other words, the permanent progress and advancement of the race are primarily due to the moral, rather than to the intellectual, element in mankind. It is also a well-established fact of history that all progress in which the intellectual factor has been the ruling and dominant one has been neither stable nor permanent, showing a complete correspondence between the facts of history and the statement of Holy Writ, "In righteousness shalt thou be established." Hence it becomes a necessary postulate of a valid sociology that the continuous and permanent improvement of the social organism can only be effected by a corresponding and continuous moral development of mankind, since it is not upon mind, but upon morals, that human welfare and progress are founded.

It follows also, as a corollary from this proposition, that the social and civil condition must always be on the same plane as the ethical or moral condition of a people—a fact that gave rise to the terse maxim of Plato, "The States are as the men are;" or, in other words, the people are the makers of the State, rather

than the State the makers of the people. It is, also, equally true that a moral transformation must precede any real and permanent advancement in the social or civil condition of mankind, since, as Hegel has shown, "the State is the realization of the moral idea of the people" who compose it; so that the social and civil conditions and institutions of a people are always on the same grade as the moral ideas and principles by which they are dominated. It is evident from these facts that, for the perfecting of the civil and social condition of the race, it is essential that the social organism should be brought under the control of a moral factor so puissant as to make it paramount to all opposing forces; and such a factor is only found in Christianity, which Mr. Lecky styles, in his *History of European Morals*, "the most powerful moral lever that has ever been applied to the affairs of men."

It is true that Christianity has been, and is being, assailed in every direction by powerful foes; and its opposers, while admitting its paramount power in the past, would fain make the world believe that, if it is not already in a moribund condition, it is, at least, a decadent force, its energy spent and the magic of its spell broken, so that it can never again attain to the commanding position it once occupied or exert the powerful influence it has hitherto exercised in human affairs. Nevertheless, one of their own number—Mr. Frederick Harrison, a leader of the ranks of positivism in England—in a recent article on "The Future of Agnosticism," makes the candid admission that "the net result of the whole negative attack on the Gospel has, perhaps, been to strengthen the moral hold of Christianity on society." Convinced that even this favorable statement from one of their adversaries falls far short of the whole truth, its votaries are claiming that, though Christianity is hoary with the age of many centuries, it still has the dew of its youth; that its power is increasing, its domain is enlarging; and that to it, more and more, the eyes of a weary world must turn for deliverance from its numerous ills and burdens and for the solution of its perplexing problems, or else close them forever in abject despair.

But the belief in the ability of Christianity to furnish a panacea for the world's ills and to accomplish the much-wished-for moral and social reforms is not confined to theologians and

ligionists, but is shared by statesmen and men of the world as well. Benjamin Franklin, one of the wisest of Americans, made the sage remark that "whoever introduces into public affairs the principles of primitive Christianity will change the face of the world." Kossuth, whose long and varied life and cosmopolitan career gave him ample opportunity for large and extensive observation of the social conditions in different quarters of the world, said, "If the doctrines of Christianity which are founded on the New Testament could be applied to human society I believe the social problem could be got at." De Tocqueville, recognizing the disintegrating tendencies of the times in both social and political affairs, wrote, "Society must be destroyed, unless the Christian moral tie be strengthened in proportion as the political tie is relaxed." Mr. Gladstone, one of the most illustrious statesmen of our own or any age, conversing on the social condition of the world, exclaimed: "Talk about the questions of the day! There is but one question, and that is the Gospel. It can and will correct everything that needs correction." The author of the *Social Influence of Christianity* records his conviction that, "if ever an ideal order is realized by humanity, it will be under the leadership of the Christian conception of man, and will require that for its basis." These statements, gathered from widely different sources, but voice the growing conviction that for the solution of the momentous problems that pertain to this life, as well as the next, the world must needs look to the "Teacher come from God," who "spake as never man spake," and who gave utterance to words that were, and still are, "spirit and life." And these vitalizing words of this divine Teacher form the only possible basis for the construction of a sociological system that can bring order out of the present social disorder and that can furnish an adequate solution of the industrial and social problems of the times.

It now remains to set forth, in as concise a manner as possible, the distinctive tenets of Christian sociology and the means and methods whereby it seeks to accomplish the solution of pending social problems, the harmonizing of the discordant, jarring social elements, and the perfecting of the social order.

The cardinal doctrine of Christian sociology is that the reformation of society and the perfecting of the social order can

only be effected by the moral regeneration of the individual. On this dogma its whole superstructure rests. It necessarily accepts that which is everywhere plainly manifest—the depravation of the social organism; but it teaches that this social depravation has its origin in the depravity of the individual, and that it is vain to expect better social conditions so long as the internal moral condition of the individuals who compose the social organism remains unchanged. Its motto is "Make the tree," that is, the source from which all things spring, "good," and the fruit will be good also. Hence it addresses itself first, not to the invention of new formulæ, new institutions, and new conditions, but to making anew the individual social unit from which all these things proceed, knowing that the new man will make for himself new environments, new institutions—in fine, a new order of things suited to his new condition and on the same plane with it. It proposes to do this, not by a slow evolutionary process, but by the impartation of the divine life—the perfect life—to the human soul, and to thus create new and perfect external conditions by the implantation in man's nature of a new internal life.

The individual, thus made a new creature, will have new desires, new purposes, new motives, and will be dominated by new principles. His life will no longer be self-centered, but centered and sphered in God. He thus becomes a partaker of the divine nature, of which love is the chief and essential element. Love then dominates his whole being and controls his every act. It exorcises completely the spirit of selfishness which is the great bane of human life and society, and ushers in the altruistic spirit which impels him to love his neighbor as himself. Thus the altruistic spirit which Mr. Spencer finds to be an indispensable element in social development and advancement, but which is utterly foreign to his system and could not be evolved from it or developed by it, is found to be a natural and necessary product of Christian sociology which, from its very nature, must permeate and dominate the social organism.

Sociologists of all schools realize that the practical acceptance and enforcement of the doctrine of human equality and brotherhood are essential to the induction of the perfect social order. But the dogma of the equality and brotherhood of

man is a logical deduction from the doctrine of the fatherhood of God which occupies so prominent and large a place in the teachings of the Founder of Christianity, and must for this reason become an integral element of Christian sociology.

To the regenerated individual, animated as he must be by the spirit of altruism and brotherhood, the acceptance and fulfillment of the Golden Rule—the glory of the Gospel—in all the relations of life, both public and private, becomes, not only easy of accomplishment, but also a moral necessity. But, whenever and wherever this law of love, this perfect rule of action, becomes the dominant power in society, wars of all kinds, national, civil, and industrial, will cease, and an era of universal peace and good will among men will be ushered in. The thorough leavening of society with the principles announced in the Master's Sermon on the Mount would radically change the present system of carrying on business and trade, which is causing so much discontent among the laboring classes, and whose motto seems to be, "They should take who have the power, and they should keep who can." The evils which characterize this system were quaintly set forth by Mr. Ruskin in an address delivered to the prosperous manufacturers of Lancashire, in which he said, "Your goddess of 'getting on' in the world is no goddess for me, because she is the goddess, not of everybody's getting on, but only of somebody's getting on." The application of the principles of Christian sociology to the business realm will speedily accomplish the dethronement of this selfish goddess, for under its sway everybody will get on together, the prosperity of one aiding and prompting the mutual prosperity of all; and by this means the vexatious problem of the just and equitable distribution of wealth will find solution, because under the benign influence and practical application of the Golden Rule everyone will receive his full and honest share of the profits of industry.

Under the social conditions superinduced by applied Christianity, which will be a necessary resultant of the establishment of Christian sociology, the solidarity of society—the pet phrase and dream of the socialistic schools—can have its only possible practical realization. There exists to-day what is styled a solidarity of society, brought about in part by the centralizing spirit that characterizes modern civilization, and in part by the estab-

lishment of a world-wide system of railroads, telegraphs, and ocean steamship transit whereby the ends of the earth are brought together and all nations, no matter how widely separated, are put in touch with each other, so that all the world has become one "highly organized and interdependent whole." But this is only a physical or mechanical solidarity, which must be supplemented by the moral element to give it perpetuity and make it the means for binding all mankind together in indissoluble bonds of brotherhood and charity, thus making it possible everywhere to exemplify Milton's noble conception of the perfect social state, which "ought to be one huge Christian personage, one mighty growth or stature of an honest man."

Thus, in our endeavor to outline in a practical way the scope and purpose of sociology and the means whereby it may fulfill its mission, we are irresistibly led to the conclusion that a science of society that will be fully capable of solving all pending social problems, and that will result in securing the amelioration of all social ills and in bringing about a final and complete regeneration of society, must be born of, and incorporate into itself, the teachings of the Founder of Christianity, who has ever been the hope of the world and the helper of the race, and whose pledge and promise to mankind, "Behold, I make all things new," is sure of final and complete fulfillment. What he has already done, and what he yet will do, is strikingly summarized in the following paragraph, with which we close this article:

Christus Redemptor has, with atoning sacrifice, brought forgiveness of sin to the great company of the redeemed. *Christus Consolator* has stanched the tears of the world's sorrow and filled the hearts of the afflicted and the wronged with immortal hope. *Christus Consummator* will establish the kingdom of God in the hearts of men and transform human society at last into the order of final perfection.

E. D. McCreary.

Art. III.—REACTIONARY PHASES IN THE PONTIFICATE OF LEO XIII.

The amiable mannerisms of Leo XIII are well adapted to produce a measure of popular illusion. Not a few, probably, will be surprised to be told that his pontificate, in its dogmatic trend and fundamental bias, is reactionary, in the sense of reverting strongly to the mediæval type. But that this is the fact is established by perfectly conclusive data. No unbiased critic can read in succession the full list of deliverances from his lips and pen without discovering that we have here the substance of the mediæval system and a consistent supplement to the Vatican Council, with its dogmas of papal absolutism and infallibility. The better to corroborate this contention, we will present the evidence under several distinct specifications.

I. No pontiff in any century has outdone Leo XIII in industrious efforts to promote the sentimental devotion which culminates in essentially divine honors to the Virgin Mary. Pius IX himself could not have wished for a successor more enthusiastically determined to build a congenial superstructure on the basis supplied by the dogma of the immaculate conception. In about a half dozen of the pope's communications to Roman Catholic Christendom the central and expressed purpose is the promotion of the cult of the Virgin. Again and again he proclaims the fundamental dependence of himself and the Church upon the good offices of Mary. A score of passages from as many different documents could easily be cited in illustration, but the following will indicate sufficiently the trend of the Pope's teaching:

> In the heart of the Romans is the ancient devotion to the mother of the Saviour; but now, in consideration of the more pressing peril, let us recur more frequently and with intenser ardor to her who has crushed the serpent and conquered all heresies.*
>
> In order that we may have firmer hope of obtaining [our requests], let us employ the intercessors and defenders of our salvation—the Virgin Mary, the great mother of God, the aid of Christians, and the shelter of the human race; her most pure spouse St. Joseph; and the apostles Peter and Paul.†

* *Epistola ad Card. Vicarium Monaco la Valetta*, June 20, 1878.
† *Epistola Encyclica de Civili Principatu*, June 20, 1881.

In defending the rights of the Church and averting dangers he says:

We consider that no means could be more efficacious than our gaining, by the religious practice of the veneration due to her, the favor of the sublime mother of God, the Virgin Mary, depositary of our peace with God and dispenser of celestial graces, who has been placed at the highest summit of heavenly power and glory that she might aid mankind on its way of toil and peril toward the eternal city. It has always been the principal and most solemn care of Catholics, in troublous affairs and uncertain times, to flee to Mary for refuge and to repose upon her maternal goodness. By this is plainly shown, not only the most certain hope, but also the confidence which the Catholic Church has always placed with good reason in the mother of God.*

We should take refuge in Mary, in her whom the Church rightly and deservedly calls salvation-bringer, helper, and deliverer.†

We wish that, constantly and without interruption, recourse should be had in the Church to God and to the great Virgin of the Rosary, the strongest aid of Christians, at whose power tremble even the magnates of the abyss.‡

It is well known how great confidence, in the midst of the present calamities, we have reposed in the glorious Virgin of the Rosary for the salvation and prosperity of the Christian people, for the peace and tranquillity of the Church. Mindful, on the one hand, that in great distresses the pastors and the faithful have been wont to turn confidingly to the exalted mother of God, the most powerful aid of Christians, in whose hands are placed all the graces, persuaded, on the other hand, that devotion to the Virgin, under the title of the Rosary, will prove to be supremely opportune amid the special needs of our time, we have willed that this devotion should everywhere be revived and always be more widely established among the faithful in all the world.§

The most holy Virgin, as she was the bearer of Jesus Christ, is likewise the mother of all Christians, whom indeed she bore at Mount Calvary amid the supreme pains of the Redeemer.‖

In harmony with the thought expressed here, the pope gives to Mary the comprehensive title, "Mother of God and of men" —"*Dei et hominum mater.*" ¶

As an accessory to the worship of the Virgin, the pope has earnestly commended the veneration of Joseph, addressing to this end an encyclical to Roman Catholics at large (August 15, 1889), and in a number of instances lauding the efficacy of the patronage of this saint. Supposing the Virgin to retain much

* *Epist. Encyc.*, Sept. 1, 1883. † *Epist. Encyc.*, Aug. 30, 1884.
‡ *Epist. ad Card. Vicarium Parocchi*, Oct. 31, 1886.
§ *Epist. ad Episcopos Italiæ de Sacro Rosario*, Sept. 20, 1887.
‖ *Epist. Encyc.*, Aug. 15, 1889. ¶ *Epist. Encyc.*, Sept. 8, 1893.

of human feelings, he deduces, by a congenial order of Roman Catholic logic, that her partiality for her spouse will incline her to be specially favorable to those who address themselves to him as devoted clients. The following may serve as a specimen of this kind of logic:

> The fact that the worship of St. Joseph is advanced daily and that affectionate devotion to him is on the increase may certainly be expected to be pleasing and acceptable to Mary, the immaculate mother of God, whose favor we are strongly confident of earning by this means.*

The order in which the celestial patrons are named is not a little significant. By reason of his relation to Mary, Joseph is placed even before the chief apostles. The heavenly phalanx to which the pope commends his cause is commonly described as Mary, Joseph, Peter, and Paul. In one conspicuous instance, however, he feels constrained to add an auxiliary whose name has very decisive military associations. Regarding the order of masons as a chief instrument of Satan in the world, he makes his appeal in this fashion:

> Let us employ as helper and mediator the Virgin Mary, mother of God, as one who overcame Satan from her very conception, that she may display her mastery over the base sects in which it is evident that the contumacious spirits of the evil demon live again with untamed perfidy and deceit. We call to our aid the chief of the celestial angels, Michael, the repeller of infernal enemies; likewise Joseph, the spouse of the most holy Virgin, the heavenly and saving patron of the Catholic Church; also the great apostles Peter and Paul, the disseminators and invincible defenders of the Christian faith.†

As affording an indication of the perfect accord of the pope with the mediæval type of devotion, we may also cite his very favorable estimate of the religious efficacy of the bones of the saints. He refers approvingly to this verdict of John of Damascus:

> The bodies of the saints are perennial fountains in the Church, from which, like streams of salvation, celestial gifts and all those things of which we stand in special need are poured forth to the Christian peoples. ‡

* *Litteræ Apostolicæ de Festo S. Iosephi in Lusitania Restituendo*, June 3, 1890.
† *Epist. Encyc. de Secta Massonorum*, April 20, 1884.
‡ *Litteræ Apostol. de Inventione Corporis S. Jacobi M. et SS. Athanasii et Theodori*, Kal., Nov., 1884.

We may note, moreover, the pope's approval of the exhibition of the "holy coat" at Treves (July 11, 1891), his contribution to the celebration of the transfer of the "holy house of Loretto," his kindly attitude toward the Lourdes fetichism, and his confidence in the power of bought-up prayers—that is, prayers evoked by promises of indulgences—to secure the conversion of non-Catholics.

Were we in a combative mood, we might ask for the papal warrant for some of the statements quoted above. We might inquire, for example, on what ground the pope describes the Virgin Mary as the destroyer of all heresies. We wait for authentic evidence that the good woman has ever stepped on Protestantism. Confidence in the pope's insight here is not naturally confirmed by his own repeated showing that the world is still very largely off the track of the true faith. But, waiving criticism, we content ourselves with the exposition which has been given of the papal propagandism in behalf of sentimental devotion. We cannot, indeed, claim to have made a detailed comparison between Leo XIII and all preceding popes on this subject; but we believe that it is safe to challenge anyone to name a single mediæval pontiff who has expended as much effort as this modern pope in promoting the worship of the Virgin. We are entirely sure that it is safe to challenge anyone to produce from the literature of classic heathenism a single example of a higher degree of practical dependence and religious veneration toward a subordinate divinity than that which Leo XIII, in manifold instances, authorizes and invites to be exercised toward the Virgin Mary. Some Roman Catholics outside of the Romance nations must feel that the pope has been giving them a larger dose of idolatry than suits their way of thinking.

II. On the subject of religious liberty the pontificate of Leo XIII, if not reactionary in a very emphatic sense, has still exhibited a good degree of resolution and industry in supporting and propagating long-standing Roman Catholic traditions. A significant index of the pope's sentiment is given in his approving reference* to the encyclical of Gregory XVI issued August 15, 1832 and the syllabus of Pius IX published in 1864. The former was evidently meant to condemn liberty of

* *Epist. Encyc. de Civitatum Constitutione Cristiana*, Nov. 1, 1885.

the press and of worship, taken in the sense in which they have generally been advocated in this country as the proper rights of freemen. The latter condemned each of the following propositions: "Every man is free to embrace and to profess the religion he shall believe true, guided by the light of reason;" "The Church has not the power of availing herself of force or any direct or indirect temporal power;" "In the present day it is no longer expedient that the Catholic religion should be held as the only religion of the State, to the exclusion of all other modes of worship." The reference of Leo XIII implies that, in condemning these sentences, Pius IX gave a standard to which Catholics may conform with the certainty of being in the right.

In the same connection, the pope declares that it is a crime for States or individuals "to observe nowhere the duties of religion or to treat in the same way different kinds of religion." Only under the pressure of practical necessity or for the sake of avoiding great damage are rulers justified in granting tolerance to dissenting forms of worship. An equivalent representation appears in the encyclical on Christian Liberty (June 20, 1888). Stated in brief, the assumption in this document is that the State owes it to God to profess and to patronize the true religion; that it is not difficult to determine, at least in any Roman Catholic domain, that the Roman Catholic is the true religion; and that in conserving a privileged place to this religion restrictions ought to be placed upon freedom of speech and of the press. The strength of the pope's desire to instill this way of thinking is strikingly shown in the fact that, with the certainty before him of offending thereby the majority of citizens in the United States, he took pains in a recent communication to Roman Catholics in this country to remind them that, in a normal condition of things, their Church must be awarded a privileged position before the State.*

In concrete instances where the pope has had occasion to apply his maxim he has not contradicted the tenor of his public teaching on this theme. In a number of instances he has bewailed the disgrace which has befallen Rome through the contaminating presence of Protestant schools and places of worship, and complained of the power which has despoiled him of the

* *Epist. ad Archiepiscopos et Episcopos*, Jan. 6, 1895.

faculty of worthily guarding the seat of Christ's vicar from this pollution. He says:

> Every reason persuades that in the holy city, consecrated by the blood of the chief apostle and of so many heroes of Christianty, the religion of Christ ought to reign supreme, and the universal teacher of the faith, the avenger of Christian morality, ought to have unrestricted power to close here the access to all impiety and to maintain the purity of Catholic instruction.*

A kindred application of maxims was made in 1889, in the earnest admonition which the pope addressed to the Emperor of Brazil against the scheme of the minister of State to grant liberty of worship and teaching. Such a scheme, he argues, as involving the parity of creeds before the law, detracts from the rights of "that one true religion which God has established in the world and distinguished by characters and signs very clear and definite, in order that all might be able to recognize it as such and embrace it." And he continues:

> With the said liberty is placed in the same line truth and error, the faith and heresy, the Church of Jesus Christ and any human institution whatever. . . . Already on other occasions, in public documents addressed to the Catholic world, we have demonstrated how erroneous is the teaching of those who, under the seducing name of liberty of worship, proclaim the legal apostasy of society from its divine Author.†

It may be worth while also to note that, among the great benefits which Italy is alleged to have received from the popes, a special emphasis is placed on the conservation of unity in religion.‡ Now, inasmuch as the papacy organized the supreme tribunal of the Inquisition at Rome in 1542 for the immediate purpose of blotting out the Reformation then in progress and gave Italy religious unity principally by the use of the fagot, rack, and prison, it would seem that the pope invites to a rather complacent recollection of that order of instrumentalities. Farther evidence is not needed to show that Leo XIII would applaud the action of any State preponderantly Roman Catholic in repressing all dissenting forms of worship, where this

* *Epist. ad Card. Vicarium Monaco la Valetta*, June 26, 1878; *Epist. ad Card. Nina de Præciputis Pontificis Curis*, Aug. 27, 1878; *Epist. ad Card. Vicarium Monaco la Valetta de Scholis Urbis*, March 25, 1879; *Litteræ Encyclicæ ad Episcopos Italiæ*, Feb. 15, 1882.

† *Epist.*, July 19, 1889.

‡ *Epist. ad Cardinales de Luca, Pitra, Hergenræther, de Studiis Historicis*, Aug. 18, 1883.

could be done without too great a cost. Principle, according to his representation, is against tolerating any such forms; only temporary expediency can justify a Roman Catholic State in granting them any standing room.

III. In the domains of philosophy, theology, and biblical study Leo XIII has not only commended the mediæval standard, but has sought with great assiduity to bring Roman Catholic scholarship universally under the practical control of that standard. His extraordinary activity in enthroning Thomas Aquinas as the great philosophical and theological master has much the same meaning in his pontificate as belongs to the Syllabus of Errors in that of Pius IX. The former is as decidedly reactionary toward the mediæval *régime* as was the latter. No thinking man can believe that mere personal fondness for the study of the great scholastic doctor could have justified to the pope's mind such a scheme of propagandism as has been fulfilled in an encyclical addressed to all the bishops of the Roman Catholic world in behalf of the study of Thomas Aquinas (August 4, 1879), a brief declaring him the patron of Roman Catholic schools (August 4, 1880), and other forms, repeatedly used, of commending the Thomist philosophy and theology.* The manifest intent of the pope has been to cancel diversities in speculative thought, and to work toward a homogeneous system thoroughly in harmony with the highest pretenses of the hierarchy. That this has been his aim is evinced distinctly enough in the following description of Aquinas as the ideal master:

> That most sapient doctor always proceeds within the limits of the truth, as one who not only never contends with God, but always adheres to him most closely and obediently, whatever may be the way in which he discloses his secrets; as one, also, who is not less sacredly obedient to the Roman pontiff, and who reverences the divine authority in him, and holds that to be subject to the Roman pontiff is altogether necessary to salvation.†

Aristotelianism within the limits of mediæval dogmas, with their vast substructure of unproved assumptions, is thus the system to which Leo XIII undertakes to lead back the whole

* See *Allocutio ad Catholicos Scientiarum Cultores*, March 7, 1880; *Epist. ad Episcopos Belgii*, Aug. 3, 1881; *Epist. ad Archiepisc. Mechliniensem*, Dec. 25, 1880; *Oratio ad Moderatores et Alumnos Seminariorum Collegiorumque Urbis*, Jan. 18, 1885; *Epist. ad Archiepisc. Baltimorensem*, April 10, 1887; *Litteræ Apostol. de Hierarchia in Mexico Ordinanda*, 1891. † *Epist. ad Archiepisc. et Episc. Bavariæ*, Dec. 22, 1887.

body of teachers and theologians in the Roman Catholic Church. His pattern for biblical study is of no less ancient date, as appears from the encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*, November 18, 1893. According to this deliverance, the Bible should, indeed, be studied by the clergy; but the study must be within the limits of comprehensive and inflexible presuppositions. No scientific or theological opinion can be tolerated which is at variance with the assumption of the infallible dictation of every part of the Scriptures acknowledged by the Church or out of harmony with any item of the faith established by ecclesiastical authority. Some scholars can doubtless breathe within these limits; but one who has any considerable degree of mental virility, and has been accustomed to the freer and more rational methods of biblical study which have been gaining ground in this century, can no more breathe within the area of these restrictions than an astronomer could find perfect liberty if set back within the old Ptolemaic system and required not to contravene one of its suppositions.

In consideration of the fullness of his teaching and the energy of his propagandism along the lines indicated, Leo XIII must be regarded as having done more than any other modern pontiff, except the manipulator of the Vatican Council, to shackle Roman Catholic thinking. We refer to the measure and natural effect of his efforts. The actual effect may not be so great, since the intellectual forces which work in modern society are likely to overflow any artificial barriers. It would seem, however, that for the time being the pope has been measurably successful. Such diversities in speculative teaching as had place a few decades since have largely been repressed. A recent biographer informs us that the limited opposition to the papal program which existed at the start has disappeared since the condemnation (1887) of propositions from the writings of Rosmini, and that "unanimity tends more and more to be established in Catholic schools of philosophy." * Of course, it is not our intention to deny that a modicum of attention may properly be given to Thomas Aquinas as one of the acutest of mediæval thinkers. Our contention is that to place him at the head of the curriculum of fundamental studies, according to the pope's prescription, and to require all

* Mgr. de T'Serclaes, *Le Pape Léon XIII*, 1894, vol. 1, pp. 272, 273.

Roman Catholic scholarship to bow down to his system, as the incomparable model of philosophy and theology, is in purpose and natural result thoroughly reactionary. The design is to consolidate Roman Catholic thinking upon a congenial mediæval basis and to fortify it against potent factors in the world of modern thought.

IV. In his utterly one-sided treatment of the pontifical record Leo XIII has industriously sought to subsidize history to the end of magnifying and glorifying the papacy. Adopting an expedient which seems more in harmony with the rhetorical dogmatism of a third-rate apologist than with the dignity of a high magistrate, he has published lengthy discourses to show how all the different countries of Christendom are debtors to the popes for incomparable benefits. Always selecting his facts in line with this general thesis, "The popes have always used all their authority for the purpose of benefiting States," * he sketches a picture about as much like the reality as an ideal paradise is like this world with its mixed conditions. A sensitive regard for truth, it strikes us, would have inclined his holiness to give some glimpses of qualifying facts.

Thus, in a communication to England he might have mentioned the sense of torture caused to that country by the exactions of Gregory IX, Innocent IV, and other pontiffs; the blast of Innocent III against the Great Charter, in which he declared it annulled and stigmatized it as a "vile and base" document—whereas, contrariwise, Cardinal Gibbons has described it as "the greatest bulwark of civil liberty, the foundation not only of British, but also of American, constitutional freedom;" the claim of Paul IV to pass upon the succession to the throne; the attempted dethronement of Queen Elizabeth by Pius V; and the seconding by Gregory XIII of the project of Philip II for the conquest of the kingdom.

In writing to the French people he might have mentioned such sample facts as the extraordinary tokens of satisfaction which the pope gave over the St. Bartholomew massacre; the unmerciful harrying of the nation for more than a generation in order to force down its unwilling throat the *unigenitus* constitution—a constitution veritably scandalous in some of its particulars; and the stigma which the papacy has recently suc-

* *Epist. ad Episcopos Siciliæ*, April 22, 1892.

ceeded in casting upon a very large proportion of the most eminent French theologians and prelates since the fifteenth century, by branding their characteristic teaching as a condemned heresy.

In a communication to Germany he might have recalled such historical amenities as the peculiar reception which Gregory VII accorded to Henry IV at Canossa; the benediction of Paschal II upon filial impiety against the same emperor; the slaughter which went on for years because of the arbitrary and unrighteous attempt of Innocent III to thrust aside the lawfully elected emperor; the measureless ferocity with which Gregory IX and Innocent IV urged on the conflict with Frederick II; the responsibility of the papacy, through its patronage of the unprincipled Charles of Anjou, for the extirpation of the illustrious Hohenstaufen line; the implacable war which the Avignon popes, in the fourteenth century, waged against the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria—a war mounting up, in the frenzied language of Clement VI, to the most unchristian specimen of invective that is on record; and the bull of Leo X against Luther, in which two such items of spiritual wisdom are authoritatively established as that reformation of life is not the best penance, and that it is agreeable to the will of the Holy Spirit that heretics should be burned.

In an address to the Italian people the pope might have wearied himself in citing facts analogous to these: the licensing by Clement V of the spoliation of the Venetians and the enslavement of their persons wherever they might be seized, because of encroachments on certain temporalities; an identical expression of extravagant rage on the part of Gregory XI against the Florentines; the accursed and cursing nepotism which was the characteristic feature of papal administration in the closing part of the fifteenth century; the subordination by Alexander VI of all higher interests to the promotion of children born in adultery; the very peculiar encouragement which was given to science by the action of Paul V, Urban VIII, and Alexander VII in condemning the Copernican theory; the obstructing by the papacy of the political unification of the peninsula, and the exposure of it through division to continuous foreign aggression; and the persistent attempt for the last quarter of a century to instill into the minds of Italians the conviction that

their national government is but the godless tool of an atheistic freemasonry. In his apostolic favors to other countries the pope might have rounded out his exposition of history in like manner. As the case stands, he is chargeable with idealizing a record which, however honorable it may be in many particulars, is scarred and seamed with tokens of fallibility and sin.

The plan of campaign which enforces the crying up of the unblemished services of the popes through all history implies, of course, an unsparing censure of those who have raised discordant notes. Leo XIII, it is true, does not appear to be the equal of some of his predecessors in the gift for anathematizing. But this is the way in which he characterizes the Old Catholics in Germany: "False men, scattering depraved doctrines and endeavoring to draw away disciples by fraud and deceit." * When it is remembered that the views of the party thus described were largely shared by the German episcopate before the Vatican decrees constrained them, as Hefele phrases it, "to change their convictions overnight," that the same views have dominated ecumenical councils and been elaborately defended by prelates as illustrious as Bossuet, that, moreover, the party in question contained men like Döllinger, fully the equal of Leo XIII in character and vastly his superior in breadth and accuracy of scholarship, the pope's words give a melancholy impression of the exigencies of pontifical sovereignty. Protestants, doubtless, have often been guilty of stoning their prophets; but their system leaves open a place for atonement. The curse of infallibilism is that, having once begun to smite and to brand, it is obliged in self-consistency to keep on smiting and branding. It makes no difference what may be the virtues or talents of those subjected to censure. They may be the elect spirits among Roman Catholic scholars in Germany, or the elect spirits of the flowering era in the history of Roman Catholic France, as were undoubtedly some in the first generations of Jansenists. Having once passed under the papal ban, they must everlastingly be set in the pillory, to be scorned and spit upon by all who wish to show the credentials of orthodoxy.

V. In describing the essential prerogatives of his office Leo XIII has emitted a mass of statements which vie with the language of the most ambitious representatives of the papal

* *Epist. Encyc. ad Episcopos Borussiæ*, Jan. 6, 1886.

theocracy. In dealing with the nations he has not, indeed, assumed the lordly tone of some of the mediæval pontiffs, since it would be simple madness, in a time when most civil rulers have too much independence to take commands from Rome, to openly attempt the rôle of dictatorship. But the logical implications of his claims have as unlimited a reach as even those of an Innocent III.

The pope describes the Roman pontiff as the one "in whom matters of eternal and immutable good and right have their custodian and defender in the earth."* He characterizes him as being for all Catholics "the master of their faith and the ruler of their consciences."† He reminds Italy of the exceptional honor bestowed upon her, inasmuch as "God has located within her bounds the domicile of his vicar, the *magisterium* of truth, and the center of Catholic unity."‡ An eminent saint is commended by him as a model because he always yielded a ready and trustful obedience to the Roman pontiff, "deriving thence his entire standard of thought and action."§ "In forming opinions," he says, "it is necessary to hold whatever things the Roman pontiffs have delivered or shall deliver, and to profess them openly as often as the case may demand." ‖ The obedience of the will, as well as the believing assent of the intellect, he claims, must be rendered to Christ's vicar:

> As a union of minds requires perfect agreement in one faith, so it requires that wills be entirely subject and obedient to the Church and to the Roman pontiff, as to God. . . . Both that which ought to be believed and that which ought to be done the Church by divine right teaches, and, in the Church, the supreme pontiff. Wherefore the pontiff ought to be able to judge, in accordance with his authority, what the divine oracles contain, what doctrines accord and what disagree with them; and, in like manner, to show what things are honorable, what are base.¶

In accord with the Vatican decrees, Leo XIII makes the whole body of the episcopate secondary to the papacy. "The Church, as a divine edifice," he says, "rests primarily upon Peter and his successors; secondarily, upon the apostles and their successors—namely, the bishops."** Complete exemption, his holiness asserts, from every form of earthly authority belongs

* *Epist. Encyc.*, April 21, 1878. † *Epist. ad Card. Nina*, Aug. 27, 1878.
‡ *Litteræ Encyc. ad Episcopos Italiæ*, Feb. 15, 1882. § *Oratio*, Jan. 18, 1885.
‖ *Epist. Encyc.*, Nov. 1, 1885. ** *Epist. Archiepiscopo Turonensi*, Dec. 17, 1888.
¶ *Litteræ Encyc. de Præcipuis Civium Christianorum Officiis*, Jan. 10, 1890.

to the Roman pontiff. He holds a coordinate place with no man, much less a place of subjection:

> The Church, by the will of God, is a perfect society; and, as it has its own laws, so it has its own magistrates, properly distinguished as to grade of authority, of whom the chief is the Roman pontiff, by divine right set over the Church and subject to the authority and judgment of God alone.*

The contention of Leo XIII, that in no manner can the pope be a subject, underlies his persistent demand for the decapitation of the kingdom of Italy and the restoration of Rome to pontifical sovereignty. In perhaps twoscore of his published allocutions and epistles this claim is directly or indirectly asserted. It is not, he says, because the pope is greedy of territory that the demand for the restoration of his principality is pushed; it is rather because the nature of the papal office requires its incumbent to be simply and absolutely a sovereign. A civil ruler can submit to a coordinate power in legislature or parliament; it is the unique and divinely appointed privilege of the Roman pontiff to have his lordship subject to no earthly limitation. In sustaining this point of view the pope makes the tacit assumption that divine Providence is always on the side of the papal dignity. He is well aware that the Roman bishops in the earlier centuries had no temporal dominion. He has advised Roman Catholic favorers of monarchy in France to bow to the work of Providence and to accept the republic as an accomplished fact. Why then does he not himself accept united Italy as an accomplished fact, considering the consolidation of the peninsula under one government to be in the order of Providence? Simply because it is a thing unthinkable to his mind that Providence could take away from so privileged a servant as the pope any important element of sovereignty. In this relation the Lord can give, but never take away. So central to the cosmic order does the pope regard his dignity that he makes bold to affirm that only in the conservation of its integrity is there a guarantee of any kind of prosperity for mankind at large. "The cause of the Church," he says, "of the pope, of the holy see, is the cause of the well-being of peoples and States."† Again, he affirms that the way to escape threatening evils is "with confidence and freedom from suspicion to enter

* *Allocutio ad Cardinales*, June 1, 1888. † *Allocutio ad Austriacos*, April 16, 1888.

into union with him who holds from God the supreme *magisterium* of religion; since the words of eternal life which he possesses have virtue to make prosperous even the life here below." * Once more, he remarks, "It is perfectly evident that when we treat of the temporal principality of the apostolic see we are dealing with the public good and the safety of the whole of human society."† As a specimen of pontifical consciousness in the sentimental order we have the following words, addressed to pilgrims from Holland on the occasion of the jubilee in 1893:

> If, in the painful situation which we deplore, the supreme pontiff reproduces the dolorous image of Christ on Calvary, it seems also that he reproduces the glorious similitude expressed by the divine oracle, "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto myself." It is, in truth, just and consoling to consider how much love the nations bring more and more to the holy see, from which is derived in return an ever-increasing abundance of saving benefits.‡

As being the infallible exponent of faith and morals and the supreme guide of Catholic consciences, Leo XIII claims an indirect authority over the civil domain, not, indeed, closely defined, but capable of very extensive application. No one but the pope himself has theoretically the right to tell where the prerogative of interference may not be exercised which is sketched in sentences like these:

> If the laws of a commonwealth are openly at variance with divine right, if they involve any injury to the Church, or contradict religious duties, or violate the authority of Jesus Christ in the supreme pontiff, then truly to resist is duty, to obey is crime. . . . It belongs to the pontiff, not only to rule the Church, but in general so to order the actions of Christian citizens that they may be in suitable accord with the hope of obtaining eternal salvation.§

Protestants, it is alleged, also claim the right to resist civil demands for the sake of conscience. Yes; but to allow each individual the prerogative to consult his own conscience is in point of theory vastly different from accrediting to the pope the right to mass the consciences of millions of men. The two things admit of no comparison.

The autonomy of States, Leo XIII assures us, can never suf-

* Discourse to a Roman deputation, Feb. 10, 1894, quoted in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, series xv, vol. x, p. 17. † *Epist. Encyc.*, April 21, 1878.

‡ Quoted by Mgr. de T'Serclaes, *Le Pape Léon XIII*, vol. ii, 618, 619.

§ *Litteræ Encyclicæ*, Jan. 10, 1890.

fer from papal encroachments. But what reason does he give for his conclusions? None whatever, except the speculative consideration that the papacy is a divine institution, assigned in the divine thought to a sphere which does not cross that of States. Now, this consideration applies to all past pontificates, as well as to the present or the future. The pope, indeed, allows as much, and declares in broad terms that the Roman pontiffs have never trangressed the proper bounds of their authority. What a guarantee against papal aggressions! Those who know what papal history has been will not be extravagantly thankful for assurances of this sort. Those, too, who know what human nature is will be perfectly certain that nothing but an ample area of indifference or contempt for papal mandates can keep such a privileged mortal as the pope is represented to be from gravitating more or less into the mood and the ways of a universal dictator.

A rather suggestive specimen of asserted jurisdiction within the civil domain has been given by the pope in his instruction to Roman Catholics in Italy to refrain from voting in national elections. The formula that it is "not expedient" to use the suffrage, which had been given out at an earlier date, was declared at the command of the pope, July 30, 1886, to mean that it is "not permitted"—"*non expedire prohibitionem importat.*"* Now, if it falls within the legitimate exercise of pontifical sovereignty to order in this way the political action of Roman Catholic citizens in one country, the logical inference is that the pope has the official prerogative to reach his hand into the political affairs of any country on earth which contains Roman Catholics, without further warrant or occasion than his own judgment of administrative discretion.

We shall be blamed for not giving place to more that might be said in praise of Leo XIII. But our theme does not lie in that direction. Moreover, the task of eulogy is certain to be amply fulfilled. The pope himself is not at all unmindful of what is due, if not to his person, at least to his office. He is continually serving as high priest to his own official dignity and incessantly offering sacrifices thereto. If he settles, as arbitrator, a little dispute between Germany and Spain he must make the occasion a text for discoursing on the benefits which

* Quoted in *Civiltà Cattolica*, Feb. 2, 1895.

the office of the Roman pontiff, under normal conditions, is fitted to bestow.* If he undertakes to counsel the faithful on the social problems of the hour he cannot forbear to notice that the so-called reformation of the sixteenth century was largely responsible for the causes of disturbance in the present, and that the effectual means of healing disorders lies in general submission to pontifical authority.† In fact, an imaginative mind must find it quite easy to picture a set of mirrors in the Vatican so adjusted that, whenever the pope fulfills his wish to benefit mankind, the accessory aim of reflecting upon the world a full-length figure of pontifical glory is always at the same time accomplished.

The pope's followers feel free to take, if possible, even a higher strain than that of their chief. A periodical which has received the official blessing of Leo XIII says succinctly, "The first rule of Catholicism, living and near at hand, is the pope."‡ It records also the conviction that the two great centers of supernatural virtue on earth are Lourdes and the Vatican. "In both places it is understood and felt that Jesus Christ lives and works from God—invisible there in the person of his beloved mother, glorious in heaven; visible here in the person of his vicar, humbled upon earth."§ One biographer speaks of the lamp in the pope's study as "giving forth that supernal light which illuminates both hemispheres," and others freely refer to his public acts as the product of divine inspiration.

Three causes may be expected to perpetuate this order of sacrifices: (1) the admiration elicited by the eminent personality of the pontiff; (2) the plan of campaign, which requires, in harmony with the Vatican decrees, that the pope shall be exhibited at every favorable juncture as a kind of earthly god; (3) the patronage of the pope over all the higher offices of the Church, and the natural ambition of all aspirants for preferment to earn rather his smile than his frown. Meanwhile those who are managing the glorification, or proximate deification, of the pope should seriously consider whether they are not laying a foundation for future damage. A reaction may be precipitated in the minds of the more judicious Roman Catholics who are not willing to

* *Allocutio ad Cardinales*, Jan. 15, 1886.
† See encyclicals of April 21, 1878; Dec. 28, 1878; June 20, 1881.
‡ *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1893, series xv, vol. v, p. 399.
§ *Ibid.*, series xv, vol. viii, p. 547.

go all lengths in man worship. The scheme of sentimental and materialized devotion which seems, in logic and in fact, to be inseparably connected with the project of papal exaltation may work toward such a spiritual atrophy as will leave only an inferior motive power for any kind of religious ends. Finally, the ominous fact of an acute antagonism in the leading Roman Catholic countries between the forces of papal propagandism and the disciples of a radical unbelief may be made, by intemperate efforts of the former, still more prophetic of evil. To reach a practical apotheosis of the pope, at the expense of alienating a large fraction of the more cultured portion of society from all sympathy with positive religion, would be a costly procedure.

H. C. Sheldon.

Art. IV.—HOMER TO-DAY.

The literature of Greece, like its art, is a treasure forever. Its wisdom can never fail to instruct, or its beauty to delight, mankind. Even if research and criticism had completed their task, yet, as in changeful light on familiar landscapes, new aspects would constantly appear in Grecian letters, and nothing could stale the freshness of its ever-shifting variety.

In the beginning, speaking as human vision dimly sees, Homer created Greek literature. His poems, coming out of the far-away, have, like the Nile, for ages "concealed the origins of their fountains." Many an investigator, like Bruce, a hundred years ago, dancing with delight at his discovery of the Nile spring, has declared with exultation his settlement of the Homeric time, place, and personality. But, as the Nile has been shown to rise far beyond the scene of Bruce's triumph—beyond the great midland lakes, in watersheds still more remote—so the conclusions of more than one literary explorer have been displaced by some new theory of the Homeric origin. Modern discovery has wrought no change in the beneficent river that still broods over Egypt with its watery wings, nor has modern critical debate affected the Homeric stream. It is always the Nile on which we gaze or sail, and it is always Homer with whom we are entranced. He has to-day far more readers and expounders than when, twenty-two centuries ago, Ptolemy Philadelphus founded an Homeric chair at Alexandria and Aristarchus centered upon Homer the labor of the first great school of criticism.

Of the Homeric poems, as of the Book of Job, it must be a matter of universal concession that they are prehistoric. They are unattended by contemporary records. They must be treated by the higher criticism. If the light that is in them be darkness, dark they must remain. It is only a hundred years since vigorous inquiry as to Homer and his poems actually began, and the task seems now nearly finished. The early literary world was trustful, if not credulous. Finding the treasure in its actual possession, it was inclined to the simplest view of its origin. At the first literary epoch in Greece the Homeric poems are already existing, and, in fact, form nearly

the whole of the nation's literary store. It is the era of Solon, when Athens is beginning to be great. The Greek is already a written language, as an inscription found in Upper Egypt, carved a hundred years earlier, fully proves. Pisistratus finds these epics, which are probably unwritten, familiar and delightful to the ear and tongue of himself and his people. Besides these, there is a mass of inferior epic matter taking from them its theme, tone, and movement. Nor need we wonder that a people so intellectual as the Greeks held all in recollection and passed it down orally from one generation to another. Such feats of memory have been frequent, as when, at the beginning of our own century, Duncan McIntyre, a Highland gamekeeper, though unable to read or write, could recite six thousand verses in Gaelic, besides copious poems of his own. Pisistratus wisely urged attention to these ancient treasures and encouraged their recitation, while a commission of his appointing rejected the unimportant mass and edited the Homeric poems. Rhapsodies, epic snatches, and ballads "stitched" to these were generally thrown to the winds. Onomacritus, the chief editor, is believed to have done his work well; and it was surely no easy task. He left the antique clear of the ideas of his own time; and, if he welded many poems to produce the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, he did it so skillfully that men of keen eyesight have never agreed as to where his seams and sutures run. This edition was the one used by Greeks in the great days of Pericles and Plato, the one carried in a rich casket by Alexander and read at the tomb of Achilles—that young man of Hellas's fair morning, as Alexander was the youth of its evening. It is, in substance, ours to-day.

During these centuries, the fifth and the fourth before our era, the influence of the poems on Greek thought is immeasurable. Hardly any intellectual product fails to get from Homer something of ornament or illustration. Named or unnamed, he is "the poet." Hesiod, eldest of the poets next to Homer, Pindar, in his triumphal odes, and Sophocles, in his dramas, praise and copy him. His verses brighten the last dream of Socrates and enrich the last eloquence of Æschines. The philosophers trace to him the prevailing ideas, in not only morals and religion, but even in physics; and Plato, though denouncing him as immoral for giving gods mortal passions and

excluding him from his republic for "estranging minds from things real," yet falls into his style and continually quotes from him, in a way showing a reverence involuntary and a fascination irresistible. Homer's poems stood with the Greeks of those days even as the Bible stands with us. Each sect of philosophers found its origin in the poet and claimed his indorsement; however they might differ in interpretation, they at least agreed that in his subject-matter and its treatment one found all religion and morality. Nor was he known in Greece only. Livius Andronicus, the earliest Roman writer, put the *Odyssey* into Latin as the first book from which Roman boys should learn their own language; and thus "rude Rome" was, after a fashion, early familiar with the Homeric strains, the music of Ionic thought.

Here, before critical debate begins, one may ask what is the content and quality of these poems that, from antiquity, have so fascinated mankind. One of their charms is found in the glimpses they give of a rich and suggestive background. Whatever the date of the poems, behind them lies a "pre-Hellenic" stretch of human doings and development. This Homer reveals by allusions and assumptions, as through rifts in clouds or breaks in mountain chains; and it is all the more effective because seen in glimpses only. This background is also evidenced by proof of another, and of a material, kind. At Mycenæ we pass through the gate whose lintel supports those marble lions which are the oldest piece of sculpture in Europe, and we are in the heart of an ancient citadel. On our right is the open-air council room, a hundred feet in diameter, where sat the wise men of the State. On the left are those tombs, inviolable and mysterious for three thousand years, from which have of late been taken the ashes of a royal house, with a hundred pounds' weight of golden ornaments. In the Troad, where the site of Ilium has borne in turn seven towns, the city of Priam and his palace have been brought to the light. Even the contingent of his ally, "the son of the dawn," has been traced to that Hittite empire, so long forgotten, in the east of Asia Minor. All these discoveries, achieved by recent toil and now filling many books and enriching many museums, are but suggestions of the Homeric background. They awaken more curiosity than they appease, and for that reason are of undying

interest. From the dim unknown into which we peer Homer brings royal personages, kings wide of sway, warriors of prowess, sages of wisdom, women beautiful, delicate, and accomplished. These come not of barbarism; men do not gather figs of thistles. The Peloponnesus must have been a mart of many nations, a realm of art and culture, from which Homer gathered, with an artist's privilege, as Walter Scott gathered from the feudal ages, such things as best suited the picture upon his easel. But who were these kings before Agamemnon? Farther back, what manner of men were they who furnished heroes and demigods to mythology and tragedy? Each student in each generation puts the question, but the darkness gives no answer. Conjecture will be, as it has been, rife as to those rich realms of which Homer veils so much more than he reveals; and the shadowy forms of Œdipus and Antigone, of statesmen, warriors, and fair women, will hereafter, as heretofore, be summoned to fill the pre-Homeric, prehistoric void.

Another of Homer's enduring charms is his perfect presentation of human nature. As long as man's behavior is man's chief entertainment and we reckon nothing human to be alien from us, Homer's men and women will never be dull company. Helen, more sinned against than sinning, her grief and shame softening her celestial charms; Andromache, smiling tearfully as a beam from her infant's face gilds her sad farewell to her husband; Hector, brave and gentle, the Bayard of that far-off chivalry; Achilles, impulsive and passionate more than boy and forceful more than man—these, and others whom time would fail to name, are not artificial people. They are as real as those on our streets to-day. As distance counts for nothing in Colorado air, so, in looking back to Homer's people, we see their smiles and tears, we hear their words of love, of passion, or command, and we are at ease in their company. The height of art is attained in concealing art; the poet makes no visible effort to parade them or to display their qualities. Neither Hector nor Helen is aware that anyone is looking or listening. "*Hinter dem Gebirge sind unseres Gleichen*" says the German peasant, and Homer shows that behind the ages are people like ourselves. We are their kindred. Their mortal joys and griefs touch us. We reach our hands to them; and all after us will equally realize this kinship.

Homer's presentation of nature also gives his poems imperishable interest. He was fortunate in his locality. In the whole world there are no other such seas and islands, such streams and groves, such fertile vales and towering hills as were his. In this profusion of environment the poet reveled, but squandered nothing. Already the rule of Greek rhetoric was, "Nothing in excess." He had but to open his eyes, and something of nature illustrating something of man was visible. The bee, the cicada, and the swan; the dog, so vile in the *Iliad*, so true and loving in the *Odyssey;* the horse and the lion; the flock on the hillside; the ship running athwart the gray-haired waves—these and other objects make a picture that is worthy in itself, is restful to the reader's thought, and enlivens the transactions of the story. Every one of Homer's sketches of nature, still or stirring, has a purpose, in which it never fails, of illuminating or emphasizing some aspect of human condition or behavior. The illustrations that sparkle through these poems are as profuse as the dewdrops. As the tourist of to-day wanders along the Homeric lands, much of their beauty has vanished, many a charm has withered, man has broken and wasted much; but Homer is verified in this half decay, and one is grateful that in their early freshness there was an eye to see and a hand to preserve to all ages those charms which are like a framing of silver to golden pictures of human deeds.

Thus far in history most great enterprises have involved the struggles and carnage of war. The *Iliad* shows us the marshaling of hosts, the shock of battle, all the pomp, parade, and circumstance of war. Paris, alluring Helen, the most beautiful woman of her time, to Troy, finds all Greece rising to obtain for Menelaus restitution and revenge. Asia comes to Troy's relief. Ten years of struggle follow, intensifying in the tenth; and from Troy's blood and ashes Helen returns, to be again the wife of Menelaus and the queen of Sparta. Such a drama calls out every human ability and rouses every passion in our frames of clay. But the *Odyssey* is a poem of peace; it describes simpler tempers, conditions, and experiences. The poet fearlessly adapts his geography to his story, and in seas, islands, rivers, and continents man is to him the measure of all things. Ithaca to-day is not his Ithaca, nor Corfu his Phæacia, nor is Sparta an easy chariot ride of a day from Pylos.

Odysseus is ingenious, self-possessed, and irrepressible; Penelope is faithful, discreet, and long-suffering; Telemachus is brave, generous, and eloquent. Besides these, there passes before us in the tale no end of persons, high and low, human and divine. The adventures are both amusing and appalling, and all are radiant with

> The light that never was, on sea or land;
> The consecration, and the poet's dream.

The war of the *Iliad*, with its passions, its heroisms, and its sufferings, the wandering of the *Odyssey*, with its infinite variety—these the ages have counted great in themselves, and too great in their treatment for time to belittle.

The religion of these poems ruled the best days of the Hellenic world, and it adorns and enlivens modern literature. The idolatries of other peoples in those far-off times were gross and cruel; Homer transforms these into fair humanities. His deities are more than mortal, but they are active, intelligent, and sympathetic. He never confuses his divine, any more than his human, personages, or assigns to one what pertains to another. Each is clear and distinct, so that in the days of art they presented no confusing task to brush or chisel. It is not strange that Greek conceptions of the divine crystallized in these poems; here was their religious system, and to accept this was orthodox. The Zeus and Athene of Homer, his Apollo and Artemis, his Muses, his throngs of deities with their varied gifts and graces, formed altogether the most clean, humane, and inspiring idolatry that ever entered into the heart of man to conceive. "An idol is nothing in the world," and the Homeric deities are to us but painted air; yet who would have their bright suggestion lost in the invisible? Do they not stir with life the asphodel meadows else too calm?

Finally, the music of the Homeric verse can never lose its charm. It is like the silvery voice of Arcadian waterfalls or the laughter of Ægean billows. "'Twill murmur on a thousand years, and flow as now it flows." Poetry is the oldest recorded form of thought; and the dactylic hexameter, one might think, came of itself to the poet's lips, for in this most ancient of secular verse the rhythm, the undulation, and the energy are complete. No wonder if the chief delight at a banquet was in listening to the wrath of Achilles or the wanderings of Odys-

seus. It was as when one played skillfully upon an instrument —and more than that. The noble men and fair women of the bygone moved along the field of vision; warriors with nodding plumes and clashing weapons, gods and goddesses high and radiant, neighing steeds, and wave-tossed vessels, all in order of time and motion, as on the frieze of the Parthenon, made marvelous procession.

Thus the poems had for ages been the treasure of the Grecian world, giving delight to a people come to be most acute of perception and in taste most accurate and sensitive. They had given rapture to the commonalty and resource and suggestion to poets, artists, and philosophers; they had dominated the religion of a thoughtful community and kept firm hold upon its period of greatest intellectual activity; and at the end of the fourth century before our era, far as they might be from the date of their production, they enjoyed simple, unquestioned, undiminished appreciation.

Then came the age of criticism. The function of the critic is to find and delineate the best that has been thought and said in the world. His task is toilsome, thankless, and often hazardous; for he is condemned when he approves the unworthy, and who wishes his disapproval? The reign of the second Ptolemy at Alexandria saw the true beginning of Homeric criticism. He set himself to make his capital the world's literary metropolis. He began that library famous both for its magnitude and its destruction, and gave the Hebrew Scriptures their Greek form as it remains unto our day. But his chief attention was devoted to Homer; and, though the works of his scholars perished in the first destruction of his library (47 B. C.), yet we know their substance by the notes and comments of others. Of these the first was Zenodotus. He found, united with the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, a mass of epic compositions, which he separated and dismissed to oblivion. He divided the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* into twenty-four books, marking those of the *Iliad* by the capitals of the Greek alphabet, and those of the *Odyssey* by the smaller letters. His rejection of the epic trailers called cyclic poems, from their treating of persons and events "cycling" around the great transactions of Troy, led his pupil Hellenicus a step farther; he rejected the Homeric authorship of the *Odyssey*, counting that the anticipations of the

Odyssey in the *Iliad* were not enough to outweigh the differences in style and spirit. He was the first separatist. Byzantium now sent to Alexandria a careful workman, Aristophanes, whose chief work was the preparation of a well-authenticated text from all the manuscripts gathered by Ptolemy. Then appears Aristarchus, the commanding literary personage of his century. He was a born editor. He reëdited many authors; he wrote commentaries; he gave oral lectures. His *ipse dixit* was absolute with the listening crowds; and, what is remarkable, his decisions have, until within a century of our time, been rarely questioned, and never wholly rejected. He positively assigned the two poems to one and the same hand. As spurious he threw out nearly twelve hundred lines; but what were these among twenty-five thousand?

As Aristarchus left the Homeric poems, so we find them. Many a commentary has been written on them; and in 1488 the new art of printing produced at Florence a splendid folio edition. The fall of Constantinople had now driven Greek scholars westward; and in 1491 William Grocyn, the first to teach Greek in England, began his work at Exeter College, Oxford. From that day Homer has not lacked devotees in England. In 1778 there was found in the library of St. Mark's, at Venice, a manuscript of the *Iliad* singularly complete in text and rich in scholia, or explanatory notes. The peculiar value of these is that they give to modern scholars a fair account of all that ancient critics wrought upon Homer's *Iliad;* and careful search has been made for a companion manuscript giving in like fullness the *Odyssey*. This Marcian manuscript has been the very apple of discord among Homeric scholars. A hundred years of Homeric controversy have followed, marked by close study, careful dissection, lively imagination, and almost national lines of division, as between the scholars of England and Germany. The scholia of the Marcian manuscript showed that the men of Alexandria had not rested on the authority of certified manuscripts, but had freely handled their material, which was about the same as ours, according to perceptions, tastes, and judgments of their own. It was now clear that, although wider views and finer discernment might be attained and new and more truthful opinions might result, yet the age had wrought no change in the subject-matter. In 1795 Wolf, a German, appeared in the field.

He asserted that before Pisistratus there was, not only no manuscript, but no embodiment, of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey;* that rhapsodists—wandering bards—composed poems, each according to his ability, and recited them upon various occasions, to be thereafter held in memory by themselves and their hearers. The Homeric poems were thus the work of no one man, of no personal Homer, but came of many men's genius in composing and of one man's skill in compiling and editing. The word "Homer," under etymologic torture, was constrained to mean "the harmonizer" or "assimilator"—no longer "the blind" or "the hostage." This theory threw out of the poems all idea of a definite original plan, and made their form and such unity as they have the work of an editor, who, with more or less art, framed what material his hand found to handle. It set men to vigorous thinking and soon gained patrons. Then came Gottfried Hermann, who held that there was a personal Homer, of rare genius, a ποιητής—a creator, indeed—striking out upon the epic path, before untrodden, and composing masterly, but brief and gaunt, poems, and to whose work others added, until the bulk became as Pisistratus and ourselves have found it. Lachmann, through study of the *Nibelungenlied*, found the Homeric "plan" to be an afterthought—a feat of wonderfully good editing, indeed, sixteen ballads being thus harmonized—but that the whole was not a composition of one original writer.

Beyond these theories of "higher criticism" one need make little note of others. Wide and wild has been the range of opinion among the toilsome Germans. Horace of old thought he did well to be vexed when good Homer nods and falls below the high range of his brighter hours. Critics have in this century done more than be vexed. They have carved out and thrown away "un-Homeric" verses, singly and in groups, as coolly as Renan ever said of a scripture text, "This is unhistoric." One cannot here recount the many ways of dissecting and constructing the poems which the ingenuity and industry of the century have devised, until permutation itself seems exhausted. Yet the poems stand, like the Sphinx in the desert, "staring right on with calm, eternal eyes."

The Greek language in Homer seems a very seed-bed of dialects. Here are Ionic—Old, Middle, and New—with Æolisms

and Atticisms. Dorisms alone are lacking, and one might almost look for the θὰ ὑπάγω and ἐφέρθη of modern Greek! This variety aids the theory that the poems are composite, the work of compilers and recensionists. The Atticisms are credited to Aristarchus, who believed that Homer was an Athenian. The Old and Middle Ionic appear in Homer alone; the New Ionic is the dialect of Herodotus. The verbiage of the *Odyssey* is quite different from that of the *Iliad.* Only about one hundred and thirty words are found in the *Odyssey* which are not found in the *Iliad;* but many words occur with quite different meanings, and philology would indicate that both poems are not by the same hand. This is the most unmanageable objection to the unity of the poems in authorship. Yet it never troubled the Greeks, for they referred the *Odyssey* to Homer's old age, and so explained all these variations and contrasts.

Of the great scholars of England, Gladstone holds to the unity of the poems in date and authorship. Grote divides the *Iliad*, making from it an *Achilleid* and an *Iliad*, each with its own author, and gives a third author to the *Odyssey.* Geddes urges that one writer produced the *Achilleid*, and another both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey.* With this that brilliant heathen, Symonds, agrees, while Lang mocks them all. The controversy grows wearisome. But meanwhile the poems, like the heroes of the Valhalla or Milton's warring angels, take their wounds cheerfully, and the morning finds them whole and joyous. Whatever composition of parts the critic's eye may discover, the moral unity of the poems seems indestructible. "The blind old man of Scio's rocky isle" may be a dream, though

> Seven wealthy towns contend for Homer dead,
> Through which the living Homer begged his bread.

Yet the feeling will persistently outlive all criticism, however acute and plausible, that behind these wondrous songs abides a far-away mysterious singer whom the world will ever call Homer. English scholars have in general stood by this traditional unity with a liberal feeling. They generously hold that all discord may be harmony not understood, and that the poet, in dealing with affairs involving so many years, places, and peoples, might reasonably have chosen what his art could most lift and illuminate, giving small care to connections and details. Repetitions, inconsistencies, and *nonsequiturs* they find in too

many known authors to reject such as not genuine when found in Homer. German criticism is acute, but the English is more sympathetic, humane, and wholesome.

Research, dissection, and criticism have had upon the Homeric poems, as upon the Bible, an effect which none need regret. Little of prehistoric art has come down to us complete. The Hermes of Olympia is the only surviving original of the great period of historic art. But *forma mentis eterna.* Homer attains an ever higher position. The undergraduate, as with the eyes of the morning, reads him with a dewy freshness of delight; the professor, growing old, ever sees a new charm on familiar objects, as on mountains at sunset. If the poems mock translation it is because the Greek language cannot be duplicated. In reading Dante, though there be many a mighty line, one is perplexed with allegories and allusions. The Homeric poems are as intelligible to the reader of to-day as to the throngs to whom the bard chanted them when, in kings' houses, they had their first hearing. They do not unfold the sacred truth that gives Job and Moses their lofty grandeur. They are human only. Homer, *nominis umbra,* hands them down from prehistoric gloom. Of their own merit they have lived; of their own merit they are imperishable. Grim Wolf confessed that, even with scalpel in hand, he often surrendered to their poetic charm and felt himself borne on in swift delight along a stream of continuity. One must own that no possible number of ballads, not even the Arthurian, though each in itself be worthy, can any more form an epic than a group of architectural structures can form a Parthenon, with its broad outlines and exquisite details. The general movement—with the deeds and words of both the greater and the lesser personages, and all their traits and turns—going on as in a Shakspearian or a Sophoclean drama, inspires the feeling in the reader that the Homeric poems are from one master, whose eye, like that of a shepherd, is upon his wide-ranging flock, and whose voice directs them all, in vale or on hill, by grove or stream of the pasture.

We can but congratulate the student of our day on the ease with which he can comprehend the greatest poet, next to Shakespeare, of all on the fair scroll of literature. Macaulay compared the bleak and meager form of the classics issued four hundred years ago from the Aldine press at Venice with the full, facile

editions which he himself read. Even livelier is the contrast between the *Iliad* which fifty years ago was in the student's hand and the book which he opens to-day. Scholars of two generations have labored, and he enters into their labors. The text is emended by the best that history, philology, and archæology can offer. Excavations and explorations have cleared up many a phrase and allusion once obscure—the Heræum, the very temple near Mycenæ on which the poet's eye must at some time have rested, being the most recent recovery. All these sources of accuracy have been opened to the student in the lifetime of men now living. The perfection of the text, the clearness and aptness of annotation, the copiousness of illustration make, as on a mountain side, the climbing a delight, while the summit loses nothing of its glory.

Had Homer been Christian! St. Paul, so runs tradition, going up from Naples to Rome, turned aside at Posilippo to muse at Virgil's tomb. "*O quem te fecissem, si noveram te!*" came like a groan from the apostle's lips as his great heart felt the poet's pure and lofty genius. Yet must one sigh that so much of the Homeric power is spent on idols which are "nothing in the world?" There is another view to take. In some affecting degree, the whole development of Greek literature belongs to that "mystery of God" whereby he left himself not "without witness" while the fullness of another epoch was slowly coming. There is a glory of the stars, though they fade at the coming of the sun; and that is Homer's own. Besides this, his mythology, though it took from idolatry much of its grossness, is but a part of his achievement. Were it artificial and misleading, enough that cannot be shaken and is noble, tender, beautiful, and true would remain. How can Christianity need, how can it have, an epic? It has Moses and the prophets. It has that marvelous Job, which may be recited or sung. It has the gospels. In all these are recounted the highest possible transactions, with every play of human passion and every phase of human performance. Many a scriptural personage might become the central figure of an epic, were he not so already. To "Javan" and "the isles," as the prophet knew Homer's Ionia and Hellas, it was given to achieve in the night, by the light of stars, a work impossible under the beams of the sun—a work entitling the laborer to say, "We are also his off-

spring," and enabling the night to show knowledge to even the golden day.

For three thousand years all study of Homer has ended in wide and tender reverie, and so it must ever end. The subject-matter of the endless dream is Homer himself. One thing is clear—that our enchanter, like Walter Scott, was first himself enchanted with nature, with gods, and with the ways of men. He was long in training for his work; his vision was quick and clear; he saw the cities of many men and learned their minds; he gathered the choice things of far-floating tradition and of ever-struggling theogony. Then, as his own bees in spring-time from blooming fields come freighted to their hollow rock, so he, heavy-laden with treasure, returns to Ionia to walk by the sounding sea and look forth upon the wine-colored deep. Now come the inspiration and the poet's dream. The muse, like the fair woman in Caedmon's vision at Whitby, bids him sing. "What shall I sing?" "Sing the wrath of Achilles!" Nor does the voice divine—*θεία ὀμφή*—die to silence in his heart until both epics have gushed forth and, flush with the wealth of dimly known but opulent ages, have begun to refresh and fertilize the literature of the world.

A. B. Hyde

Art. V.—MISSIONS AS SEEN AT THE PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS.

During the Columbian Exposition it was the writer's privilege to attend seven sessions of the World's Parliament of Religions. In this assembly were gathered, not only representatives of the various divisions of Christianity, but intelligent delegates from the several divisions of heathenism, with many representatives of religions that are neither heathen nor Christian. Never in the history of the world had there been held such a congress. Every man was invited to appear as a "sincere defender of his faith," without fear of inquisition or contradiction. Upon the minds of those who attended the conviction grew strong that Christianity had nothing to fear, but everything to hope; and the Rev. George T. Candlin said, "As a missionary, I anticipate that it will make a new era of missionary enterprise and missionary hope." *

I. Much was done to remove misunderstandings. When Christian workers first went among the heathen they were regarded with suspicion or fear. The heathen could not comprehend the motive of their mission or the inspiration that sustained it. They were inclined to believe that missionaries were the creatures of ambition or the mercenary agents of commercial enterprise or the incarnation of vileness bent on destruction. In India all Hindu families are also Hindu in their religion. For this reason the Hindus supposed that all persons in Christian countries were Christian in faith and practice. When they found that men from Christian countries were the unscrupulous agents of commerce or the depraved victims of vice, that they despised law, that they were strangers to justice and the perpetrators of fraud, they inferred that these men were the product of missionary teaching. They therefore misunderstood Christianity, while they supposed that they were judging it by its fruits. They did not know that it was the lack of Christianity that they condemned; and it was interesting in the Parliament of Religions to hear heathen advocates point out what they regarded the defects of Christianity in a spirit of self-defense.

* *The World's Parliament of Religions*, vol. i, p. 169.

When the Christian missionary first looks on heathenism he, also, sees it at its worst. He is an observer from the outside, and not from within. The cruel distinctions of caste, the widespread ignorance, the degrading customs, the spirit of sensuality, and the depravities of moral pollution he supposes to be the normal fruit of the religion by which the heathen are known. When, therefore, the missionary speaks severely of a religion that yields such fruits and undertakes to supplant it by Christianity, this is resented on the ground that the fruit of Christianity is also bad.

Until recently the rule has been to show only the contrasts between the Christian religion and others. We have contrasted our light with heathen darkness, our truth with heathen error, our material prosperity with heathen adversity, our emancipated and progressive civilization with heathen bondage to the primitive conditions of social and national life. In making these comparisons we have drawn upon our knowledge of what Christianity is from within, while we have only known the doctrines of the heathen from without. Besides other results, the Parliament greatly aided the Christian and the heathen to see as never before the real antagonisms between Christianity and heathenism. In the future our differences will not be those inspired by mutual animosity, by prejudice, by hatred, and by intolerance; but they will be differences found in the great and fundamental principles that underlie and maintain faith.

II. This ignorance of the East and its religions was openly commented on by the orientals. Thus, they stated that if we knew them we would approach them differently, represent them more fairly, and discover where our faith and theirs reveal a common inspiration and a mutual ground of sympathy. For example, they claimed that we do not understand the meaning of their idols. They say, "Your Roman Catholic Church has material images, and your Protestant Church has mental images, and our idols are only mental images materialized." Manilal N. D'vivedi, a Brahman and a member of the Philosophical Society of Bombay, further declared:

> It may be said, without the least fear of contradiction, that no Indian idolater, as such, believes the piece of stone, metal, or wood before his eyes as his God, in any sense of the word. He takes it only as a symbol

of the all-pervading, and uses it as a convenient object for purposes of concentration.*

Then he extemporaneously told how a Christian missionary had provoked the wrath of his people, instead of converting them. In condemnation of idolatry the missionary said, "I can strike against your god, and he cannot hurt me." A heathen in the congregation replied, "So I can do things against your God, and he cannot hurt me." The missionary replied, "Yes, he can, and will when you die." The heathen thereupon added, "So will my god hurt you when you die." Both "believed in the existence of a spiritual principle."

Again, Dr. George F. Pentecost, of London, in his address on "The Invincible Gospel," censured the oriental religionists for their criticisms of Christianity, and said that the abuses in American cities pointed out by these men were outside the pale of Christianity. He furthermore declared:

In India among the high caste Brahmans there are at least six hundred priestesses, and every one of these is a prostitute. They are prostitutes because they are priestesses, and they are priestesses because they are prostitutes.†

The next day Virchand A. Gandhi, a Hindu, in a paper entitled "The History and Tenets of the Jains of India," said:

Abuses are not arguments against any religion. . . . There are a few Hindu temples in Southern India where women singers are employed to sing on certain occasions. Some of them are of dubious character, and the Hindu society feels it and is trying its best to remove the evil. But to call these "priestesses because they are prostitutes" and "prostitutes because they are priestesses" is a statement that differs as much from the truth as darkness from light. These women are never allowed to enter the main body of the temple; and, as for their being priestesses, there is not one woman priest from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin.‡

A Brahman monk, Vivekananda by name, a great favorite at the Parliament on account of his candid manner and tolerant spirit, in reply to our conviction that the funeral pyre was a natural product of their religion, said:

The Hindus have their own faults; . . . but, mark this, it is always toward punishing their own bodies, and never to cut the throats of their neighbors. If the Hindu fanatic burns himself on the pyre he never lights the fire of inquisition; and even this cannot be laid at the door of

* *The World's Parliament of Religions*, vol. i. p. 327.
† *The Daily Inter Ocean*, Chicago, Sept. 25, 1893. ‡ *Ibid.*, Sept. 26, 1893.

religion, any more than the burning of witches can be laid at the door of Christianity.*

They further declared that we have too long been contrasting their most degraded classes with the best products of our civilization—a procedure as unjust as for them to describe our civilization by what can be seen in the slums of Chicago.

III. While these orientals showed themselves intolerant of attacks inspired by prejudice or ignorance, they were extremely tolerant of Christian wisdom, reason, and righteousness. The delegates of the Brahmo-somaj did not hesitate to say that they regarded Jesus as "the greatest religious teacher the world has ever known." B. B. Nagarkar, of Bombay, is a Hindu reformer trying to ingraft certain Christian principles into the old Hindu stock. He said:

> The conquest of India by England is one of the most astounding marvels of modern history. . . . The victory of the British, if victory it can be called, was mainly due to the internal quarrels and dissensions that had been going on for ages. . . . It was a state of complete anarchy; and no one could fathom what was to come out of this universal chaos. At this critical juncture of time there appeared on the scene a distant power from beyond the ocean. No one had heard or known anything of it. . . . In those days a white-faced, biped animal was synonymous with a representative of the race of monkeys. . . . It was no earthly power that transferred the supreme sovereignty of Hindustan into the hands of Great Britain. . . . Their deep wailing and lamentation had pierced the heavens, and the Lord of love and mercy was moved with compassion for them.†

In this revolution he discovered for India the blessings of "a divine providence" and said, "I think of Christ, the great Teacher of Nazareth, as a king of prophets."‡ The Rev. Dr. H. H. Jessup, of Beirut, Syria, also, declared that there is a "vast reform party of Persian Moslems who accept the New Testament as the word of God and Christ as the deliverer of men, who regard all nations as one and all men as brothers."§ And H. Dharmapala, a Buddhist of Ceylon, said, "Yes, friends, if you are serious, if you are unselfish, if you are altruistic, this program can be carried out, and the twentieth century will see the teachings of the meek and lowly Jesus accomplished."‖

* *The World's Parliament of Religions*, vol. ii, pp. 976, 977.
† *Ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 767, 768.
‡ *The Daily Inter Ocean*, Chicago, Sept. 17, 1893.
§ *The World's Parliament of Religions*, vol. ii, pp. 1125, 1126. ‖ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 96.

IV. The Parliament strongly emphasized the fact that "men must be converted by their veneration, and not by their doubts." Christianity will advance among the heathen, not merely by developing skepticism with reference to their own doctrines, but by showing how the truth they already have is the forerunner of the truth that Jesus has come to proclaim. Mere disproof only drives the specter of superstition out of the house; but it is ready to return to its old lodging as soon as the memory of the disproof is forgotten. The victim of superstition must be made not only to conform to the teachings of Christ, but must be transformed by the renewing of his mind, the regeneration of his heart, and the divine inspiration in his life. We must oppose idolatry; but our opposition should show, not personal animosity, but divine authority. For many years the intelligence of Athens had hurled invectives against the idolatries of the city. Socrates and Menander did not hesitate to condemn the superstitions that enslaved the people. Yet these superstitions remained. "But," as James Martineau puts it, "when Paul, without a sneer, even taking a text from a pagan altar, revealed to them the unknown God and preached Jesus and the resurrection, the doom of the whole Pantheon went forth upon his voice." In presence of the Parliament of Religions it seemed as if the spirit of Justin Martyr was again with the Church to revive his teaching of "the omnipresent Logos"—"the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." It seemed, also, as though Jesus said, with renewed emphasis, "Other sheep I have, which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice; and there shall be one fold, and one shepherd." And to the devout Jew Jesus again seemed to say, "Thou ar not far from the kingdom of God."

Professor Minas Tcheraz, delegate from the Armenian Church, declared that Christianity had brought about a revolution in the ideas of the Armenian people and had pushed them forward in the way of instruction.* And Herant Mesrob Kiretchjian, of Constantinople, described the Parliament as a Beulah land of prophecy which should send forth the echo of that sweet song, once heard in Eastern lands, "On earth peace, good will toward men." By way of this Parliament it seemed as though

* *The World's Parliament of Religions*, vol. II, p. 929.

all religions had come to the golden gate of the twentieth century; and, in obedience to the one God, all prayed, "Our Father which art in heaven," and, with the inspiration of Him who enlightens every man, all sang, "Nearer, my God, to thee."

Certain it is that to-day there is majesty and force in the Gospel as never in the past. It has now a Christian civilization behind it such as the early Church did not enjoy. It is henceforth to be revealed, not in words only, in epistles, in sermons, in creeds, but also in arts, in sciences, in governments, in institutions of learning and of charity, in Christian churches and Christian homes, in refinements and in culture, in material prosperity and in national glory. These features of our civilization amazed the visitors from the East. They could not account for it, but witnessed it until it seemed like an enchantment. The enthusiasm of our people for liberty, for education, and for popular advancement was to them a constant astonishment. Was Jesus the genius that had turned our coal into power and our iron ore into steel, that had made the electric fluid our servant by day and by night, that had given a railroad to every city and a steam engine to every factory? At first they thought that our civilization was purely and only material; but they learned that beneath all and through all there breathed a spiritual life whose inspiration was none other than the Christ.

In these auspicious times it is our privilege to do greater works than have been accomplished in all the past. A goal is before us that cannot be attained by singing hymns, by partaking of the sacraments, or by the ecstatic uplift of prayer. But if we will be the successors of the apostles, not only in time, but in spirit, will, like them, count it a privilege to sacrifice, to suffer, and to endure as seeing him who is invisible, and will now go and "preach the Gospel to every creature," we shall see Jesus entering into his heathen inheritance and taking possession of the uttermost parts of the earth.

H. R. Bender

Art. VI.—PROGRESS IN THEOLOGY.

Theology is the science of God. It is a human science, though it deals with divine being and supernatural things. Its concepts are not inspired. They may be based upon inspired revelation, but as parts of a formulated system are not themselves of inspired origin. Man does not create the facts on which any science is based. The stars and their laws afford the basis of astronomy. Matter, in its constitution and affinities, furnishes the facts on which the science of chemistry rests. Progress in these sciences does not involve any change in the laws which govern the stars, or any alteration in the methods of chemical action. Is theology a progressive science, or is it a science which is complete and unimprovable?

If progressive, it does not involve change in the truths on which it is based. Theology is not to be defined in strict accordance with its etymology. It contains more than the simple doctrine of God. It has been called "the science of the unfolded, objective self-manifestation of the divine Spirit in the phenomenal kingdom, a practical science which develops progressively and side by side with that kingdom." It is divided into natural theology, which includes those manifestations of himself which God has made in the physical universe, and revealed theology, which relates to those disclosures of himself which God has made in written or spoken word. Evidently the field is wide upon which the student enters when he begins the study of theology, too wide a field to say that in it there is no progress, no higher step succeeding lower.

Ideas grow, both in men's conception of them and in their apparent relations to each other. They may not, at the first presentation, appear in their just proportions. We often see, in the beginning, but the adumbration of an idea. The idea itself is hidden and comes into view later. There is more in any idea set forth in the Scripture than appears in the particular presentation of it which is attempted. Without doubt truth is something which has exact dimensions. Man's failure to comprehend it is due to his finiteness, and not to any lack of definiteness in the truth itself. A mind broad enough can go round the truth and view every aspect and angle of it. It is not a

misty, hazy kind of thing. It is a definite something. It can be scrutinized and recognized. But this will take more than time, for the finite mind; it will require eternity. Ideas are but phases of truth. They come to us disjointed and without their bearings upon each other being fully perceived. It is impossible at a glance to discover the relations of all ideas to all kindred truths. A second look is necessary; eternity will be consumed in the task. The comprehension of truth depends not a little upon the amount and kind of knowledge we have. But this knowledge is variable, both with the individual and with the race. It increases. It is more to-morrow than it is to-day. Measurements of ideas must therefore be liable to change. As the mind advances, with increasing knowledge, in its power to grasp truth, it will perceive larger parts of ideas presented. With changing circumstances ideas will present themselves to the mind in changing ways.

Even if all spiritual truths were revealed in the Bible, time must elapse before the mind of mankind could comprehend these. Time is necessary for the combination of the aspects in which an idea presents itself to different minds. At first, revelation will wear almost as many aspects as there are minds to view it. These may at first appear in conflict. They are diverse, if not seemingly contradictory, and only by study of their settings and promptings can they be shown, or be believed, to be phases of the same, or harmonious, truth. Who, for instance, without knowledge of the purposes and circumstances of the divine speaker, could reconcile with the fifth commandment Christ's words, "If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple?" Partial knowledge would make it appear that here was flat contradiction with other express commands. Larger understanding of the Scripture brings manifest harmony. Scripture is light upon Scripture. The accumulated results of Christian scholarship clear the atmosphere that this light may shine.

Truth is a crystal. It is perfect and fixed. It is subject to no law of change. But knowledge of truth is in a state of flux. Truth is that for which we search, but which we do not fully know. Phases of truth are what we deal with in all

discussions, and these are unstable, because more or less incomplete. The finiteness of human knowledge makes Christian thinkers restless. It is the restlessness of life. It is a good thing to set old faiths in new light, when there is any new light to set them in. And how can there be any doubt that this new light will shine forth? It comes with every new discovery of a principle in the natural or spiritual world. For no fact lacks its bearing upon every other fact in the universe. "A falling leaf shakes the sun." The correlation of forces is such that no particle of motion can be lost. Each factor in the universe has its relation to all others.

New discoveries enlarge the boundaries and increase the contents of theology. God is the author of all things. As Creator his relation to all is such that each fact is a light upon his character, an index of his nature, a commentary upon his power. The growth of knowledge concerning the intellectual or the physical world is, therefore, a contribution to theology. It shows God in some fresh way, and so adds directly to the sweep and substance of theology. It cannot be said that such facts are of equal importance and force with the more direct statements of Scripture, but they have their bearing upon the interpretation of Scripture. It will be sufficient proof of this statement to call forward the familiar change in the interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis. There is nothing in the text to show whether יום means an indefinite period of time or a day of twenty-four hours. One meaning will fit the Hebrew word as correctly as the other. The narrative reads with equal sense either way, to one not possessed of knowledge from some outside source bearing upon the situation. Geology, a late-coming science, brings at length the story it has read in the rocks. As plainly as the rainbow is penciled on the sky is that story written upon the stony leaves of the old earth. It says that long ages elapsed during the various stages of creation. Century was piled upon century before the earth, peopled first by lower forms of life, was ready for man's abode. The story is written in the rocks by the One who gives us the Bible. Its authenticity cannot be questioned. The Creator certainly wrote this message, which comes to us as he wrote it, unaltered by the hand of man, to tell us what he did in the times of which the Pentateuch speaks when it describes the creation. With

this new light we can tell what יום means. It cannot mean a day of twenty-four hours. It is only ignorance that ever led students to give it such a translation. If men had known God's ways in nature they never would have read such a blunder into his book. As his ways in nature are better known his book will become a clearer word. Men know more of God as they study and know his works more fully. Theology is thus necessarily improvable because it is a human science; for if human it is marred by errors. The gradual discovery and correction of these errors constitute a part of the progress of theology.

Further, we may not unnaturally suppose that God treats the race somewhat as a father treats his child. The child's brain is not submerged with a deluge of knowledge. God does not overwhelm men with truth. Something is held back. The race advances in its capacity to comprehend. Outlines of truth are given at first. Later revelation gives fuller details or adds higher truths. Some Bible doctrines appear at first as mere hints, and later shine out full-orbed. Growth is manifest in the Bible from first to last. The scarlet thread of vitality runs through it. How it grew we cannot say so well as that it had an orderly development. Who can tell just how God influenced the men who wrote it? The attempt to do so has involved endless dispute, and will always do so. How far were the writers dominated by the Holy Spirit? They were something more than amanuenses. There is a human element in the book, yet the writers did not speak by their own authority. This is nearly all that can be certainly affirmed. But, however produced, the Bible shows the gradual unfolding, or development, of the greater truths before the minds of men. God's method of teaching Israel is characteristic of the whole. The Hebrews did not know much else than how to mix mud and straw, and mold them into bricks to be dried in the sun. Their slavish toil and the superstitious notions of the Egyptians had debased their minds. It was impossible, all at once, to make them understand the nature of God and the destiny of the human soul. God began with them as children, and gave them but one glimpse of himself. Moses was perplexed as to the way in which he should begin to teach his brethren. "What shall I say unto them?" he exclaims. God replies, "Thus shalt

thou say unto the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you." This simple idea of the divine existence was the nucleus around which there was to be afterward gathered in the minds of the people the attributes of the divine character. Goodness, holiness, and justice were each, in turn, made known as traits in that character; and, finally, when the new dispensation dawned and God's Son suffered for men, there was made the much fuller revelation of God's love and mercifulness.

In the Old Testament the idea of immortality appears more faintly than in the New. The seer of Uz talks of a Redeemer, one who shall come before his life closes. He looks for a helper who shall cure his boils, punish his enemies, and restore his cattle. There is no doubt a hint of future life in his words, which he himself sees dimly, and which is plain to us because of all that has since been revealed. But Job's thought of the future is in the form of an unanswered question. Were there, until later times, clear ideas among the Jews concerning personal immortality? They talked of high national destiny, but spoke of the grave as the goal of the individual. To say that their silence upon the future life can be accounted for upon the ground that it was so familiar as to be taken for granted does not meet the case. It is more rationally accounted for by saying that the circle of revelation was not complete. God had some truth yet in store for the human mind. The time for the fuller revelation came, and Christ "brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel." The partial knowledge of the Jews on the question of life after death is not surprising. The process of unveiling the supernatural world was just at its beginning. Spiritually, the race was in its infancy. Even lesser truths were but partially comprehended. The Hebrew ideas concerning slavery, marriage, and divorce were not God's ideas. Their practices in regard to these matters were tolerated and passed over in silence, simply because they could not be brought at once to the high standards which were given to them later. The light was less full then than afterward. God's mornings do not dawn all at once, but come at first with twilight. Between the rugged lines written by Moses and the luminous pages of Paul's epistles there is certainly an increase of light.

Christianity is adapted to all ages. Its text-book, the Bible,

presents new phases of truth when read in the light of new conditions. In the apostolic days there was progress in the understanding of doctrine. The Joppa vision gave Peter a new view of the teachings of Christ, an essential widening of his views. At first our Lord's disciples could not grasp the idea of a universal spiritual kingdom. They had pictured for the future a temporal, Jewish kingdom, with Christ upon the throne, and themselves occupying the chief places about him. It was a slow process to lead them out of the mazes of Jewish selfishness.

Each age produces its thinkers, who read God's word more candidly, and give to the world advanced views of the truth. When John Wesley began to preach in England the pulpits of the Church were proclaiming the fiction of a limited atonement. Christian life was at a low ebb. The masses of the people could not be roused to repentance. They said, "Perhaps we are among the foredoomed. We must shortly go to hell anyway." So they sat inert. But when Wesley began to preach free grace and free will they said, "That means hope; that means obligation;" and they bestirred themselves to become Christians. This sounded like new theology to them; and so it was —not new in the sense of being just created, but new in the sense of being just practically discovered. Wesley did not make the doctrines of free will and free grace, but found them, where they had been overlooked, in the word and in the world of God—as old as creation itself, yet as young as the young hope which now sprang into life in men's hearts everywhere. The battle for these advanced ideas was a fierce one. The forces arrayed against each other seemed unequal. But Wesley's courage was inspired, not by the number of his followers, but by the strength of his convictions. He rained savage blows even upon his yokefellow Whitefield, who clung to the old Calvinistic views. Finally the victory was won. The effort recently made to revise the Westminster Confession is the beginning of the end of this forward movement in theology. The fiction of a limited atonement is practically gone. The idea of infants in hell is rejected everywhere as simply a horrible figment of the imagination. The idea of damnation without representation is regarded as a monstrosity in theological thought. As the murk clears from the air we

find that most of those who were against us have come over, and have been firing their guns at the fortress in which they themselves were once intrenched, until its walls are battered down. The Wesleyan movement marked a distinct advance in theology. Who dare say that in the future there will come no clear-headed, warm-hearted, candid seer of God to lead men to a larger understanding of the truth—one who, though receiving no fresh revelation, will see more clearly the relations of the thousand messages of God already spoken, and will interpret them more fully?

It is simply a question of interpretation. A truer exegesis will bring us truer views. Exegesis is a garment of the crazy-quilt pattern. It has been made to cover a multitude of sins and sinners. Those charlatans who have added times and times together, and then glibly told us when the world would end, have not been the only grotesque exegetes. Origen was the chief offender in his age, and his methods are poisoning the minds of men to this very day. All Scripture, he thought, had three senses. The first was the apparent, purposely full of imperfections, like the body. The second was the moral sense, as superior to the first as the soul is superior to the body. Then there was the mystic sense, hidden from all but the few, and superior to the other two as the spirit is superior to the body and soul. Ever since his time men have carried mysticism into the study when they have gone to examine the Bible, and into the pulpit when they have gone to preach it. The Bible is best read through the eyes of common sense. But it has taken the world a long time to find this out. So it has happened that the man who knew no Greek, but did know God and good old Anglo-Saxon, has sometimes come nearer the truth than his learned neighbor. The new exegesis is one of candor and common sense. This kind of exegesis is rubbing many human thumb marks from the sacred page. Christian scholarship, as it ripens, tends toward unity, because it works away from personal and sectarian bias.

Progress in theology does not imply errancy in the Scripture. We must believe in an infallible word. Many supposed errors have disappeared in the light of thorough investigation. Archæological research has cleared up many a doubt. Progress in theology, instead of involving the errancy of Scripture, has

diminished the belief in such fallibility. Why may not the creed of to-day be found faulty? It is but a human symbol. Each of the historic creeds is colored by the controversies of the times in which it was born, and controversies always emphasize extremes. Some things have been established. If true to-day they will be true forever. But the advancing mind may find a lack of room in present formularies. It will be necessary to expand at some points. The restlessness of Christian thinkers, the certainly incomplete character of human knowledge, the presence in the world of a leavening truth which has not yet wrought its complete work, and the manifest evolution of doctrine throughout the history of the Church, make it sure that the demand may come for at least a partial restatement of Christian doctrine. The new statement will be both Calvinistic and Arminian. It will magnify grace and the divine sovereignty, but will not minify man's free agency. It will proclaim salvation through the atonement of Christ, but with no added theory to explain the mystery of redemption. It will declare faith in God's mercy, but will not minify his justice. The office and work of the Paraclete will be more emphasized. Eschatology will be less materialistic. For men to pause where they are would be to conclude that differences are contradictories. The human mind has apprehended differentiations of truth, but has not yet reached unification. Antithesis precedes synthesis. The drift of thought is toward deeper and broader views, by which different particulars will be seen to be but different phases of the same theological truth.

Richard G. Hobbs

Art. VII.—CONSCIOUSNESS AND CHRISTIAN FAITH.

Current literature still doggedly asks, Is Christian faith grounded in reason? This question is seemingly legitimate; but it is really an affront against Plato and an assault on the validity of all knowledge. Why interrogate the ground of Christian faith, in distinction from faith of any kind? Evidently the problem is raised by certain preconceptions. These disclose at once that peculiar egotism which makes one man's subjectivity the basis for agnosticism, while relegating that of another to the region of delusion. *Credas quia absurdum est.* The question implies, at the outset, opposition between faith and reason. But definitions should be determined by received thought. Such antagonism ejects from faith its most vital element—belief founded on facts. Faith issues from correct belief. Belief is correct only when grounded in reason. Christian faith and faith of any genuine sort differ merely in subjects. The subject in one case may be God, in another meteorological predictions. In origin and process the acts are one. The last resort of the analysis is mind. Both phases are legitimate contents of consciousness. If not, why not?

Beyond itself mind knows nothing in greater certainty than that of indubitable probability.

> Knowledge is the certainty that our conceptions correspond to reality or to truth. By reality we mean any matter of fact, whether of the outer or inner world. By truth we mean rational principles. By certainty it is plain that we cannot mean any thoughtless assurance, but only that which results from the necessity of the admission.*

But how be sure of the certainty? We can know nothing to the degree that its opposite shall be impossible (for how determine the grounds of the impossibility?), except the reality of consciousness. This is true, in a sense, of such primal forms of knowledge as space and time, inasmuch as mind knows these only because it first knows itself. The "vasty deeps" outside of consciousness are accepted as they appear rational. Sanity demands belief in what lies in consciousness as, at least, formal actuality.

* Bowne.

But indubitable probability has the highest value. Sanity demands belief in externals as realities because of the laws of testimony. Mind knows itself. It believes in a universe. This belief is grounded on facts. The facts are assured by the laws of testimony. Evidently that testimony which certifies to the thinker his own personality, the existence and general trustworthiness of his senses and mental faculties, and the correctness of his perceptions and judgments may be valid with the religionist, no less than with the scientist. If not, why not? That this was as true in Plato's case as in Paul's argues nothing except an appeal to the facts. Nor can it be good discussion to urge the difference between the so-called facts of revelation and the so-called facts of nonreligious knowledge, or to set up the methods of physics as more rational than the methods of theology. There is here no question as to kind of facts; the sole question concerns the relation which any fact sustains to consciousness. How is any fact known? Mind knows directly no visible fact. The visible is only an inference. Every conclusion of thought is the result of a previous separation of the visible from the invisible. Of the invisible there is what is in consciousness and what is not in consciousness. What is in consciousness is known directly. All the certainty that can attach to the term knowledge obtains here. But such certainty obtains nowhere else. The visible and the invisible outside of consciousness are matters of inference. They are believed in on evidence. And this is true whether religion or physics be the field of thought. The last resort of all investigation is a place "dark with excessive bright;" yet it is in the laws and phenomena of this region that the problems of the schools and of Christianity must find their classification and solution.

Meanwhile, language is ultimately only a convenience. Below all definitions lies truth, incapable, whatever its name, of being entirely precipitated, or at all of being dissolved away, and serenely undisturbed by academic addresses and knightly tilting of reviews. It is a pity that men mistake their dictionaries for revelations and their egotism for inspiration. The consistency and authority of thinking and its results demand for consciousness a scope wide and genuine enough to admit religious facts and their evidences, and a testimony so unhampered by theories as to place belief in those facts and evidences

by the side of belief in the facts and evidences of the schools. Otherwise, every man is his own encyclopedia, and uniformity in reasoning merely a caprice. For, whatever the subjects appealing, consciousness can only be one in the same individual; and this unity must declare, tentatively at least, for the legitimacy of the contents of Genesis, the gospels, and epistles, no less than of geology or philosophy. Suppose the appeal be to a "believer." The facts, on both sides, are arrayed, the testimony "finds" consciousness, the issue is belief; for the evidences "find" one indivisible court, and the processes giving conclusions are absolutely identical. In the sense of this paragraph I am unable to reach belief in Christ in any other way than that in which I reach belief, say, in evolution. If the mind knows anything at all it knows all facts not of itself in the same way.

Religious belief is, therefore, thus far, legitimate, or both reason and belief are wholly arbitrary and inextricably blended with "personal equations." But the nature of mind ought to go for something; whether material or immaterial is here indifferent. In either case, it is not anything outside itself. But the outside is a composite of facts. No one has yet discovered its boundaries. It is evidently impossible to catalogue its qualities and kinds of facts. And it is sheer egotism to deny any fact because of its kind. Religious facts are possible. Consciousness is one; the rise of belief is one process; facts vary; all facts must have a standing in court. Otherwise, mere denials of any facts are equivalent to proof. But this is intellectual suicide.

Two things now come forth: will, and its deposits outside of consciousness. From the watchtower of will mind discerns what are called cause and effect, say, in friction and heat. We play with words when we say "invariable antecedence." For what originates that phrase? The attempt to explain the effect. This "attempt" is only another putting for "seeking the cause." Hume sought to do away with cause because his mind demanded an explanation of effect. The phrase "invariable antecedence" simply veiled the demand; friction and heat observed, it leads to friction willed, producing heat. This is contingent, for wherever will exists it is free. Experience tears the veil "invariable antecedence" away, and dis-

covers—causation. The numberless decisions of experience create and recreate small worlds of its own. Here is something irrefragable and prophetic. It is the birth of the idea of causation. Outside of consciousness there are no data for that idea, for observation must take its facts to consciousness before the idea can arise. Experience furnishes any number of series of phenomena called cause and effect. Between any series and the man there is absolutely nothing. But will forces a nexus. Consciousness then embraces two things—a personal thinker and causative power.

It will not be disputed that reason enables mind to apprehend and understand somewhat the worlds of its own creation. Within the limits of these worlds it is capable of producing something, and it is capable of producing everything. But there is a universe which is not of its own creation. What caused it? It is contingent, according to laws of thought, for its nonexistence is possible. It began to be. But a thing beginning necessitates a beginner. This is so in the laboratory and the court of justice. Why not in theology and philosophy? Inertia is king until will conquers him. As consciousness recognizes cause in the little worlds of experience, so cause must be found in that vaster universe. The cause in the one case is will. What else is it in the other? Inertia is king till will conquers. A somewhat which is kindred to the smaller creator must lurk somewhere between nothing and a universe. The theist deposits in the word "God" the infinity of his own personality and causative power. This process is legitimate, because it explains. The explanation gathers all causes into one, and finds for the universe a Being who is capable of causing something and capable of causing everything. If mind is the explanation of the small worlds of experience because it is adequate and comprehensive, it is rational to fix upon a similar infinite Being as the explanation of the universe, because such an One can be conceived as adequate and comprehensive as the cause of all. If not, why not? It is difficult to see why we must be forever crying "ignoramus," unless men are fundamentally different in the grounds of their natures, or unless "ignoramus" is a legitimate case of "personal equation." But no; consciousness is one. The facts are the same for all. Mind rationally gazes beyond "fire mist" and "promise and

potency," and declares, "I am a cause." Why not a cause beyond "mist" and "potency?" This question gives it the right to blot out "ignoramus" with "*credo*."

Either God is, or man is not; otherwise consciousness is an utter deception. That is, *a* God. The definite article lies beyond. Discussions of cause, first cause, the unknowable, infinite force, the world-ground are only additional veils thrown over consciousness. They simply show what mind is searching for. The investigations ultimately assume such forms as to defy denials and posit personality in worlds. But, arriving at an order of things which is the least superior to, or different from, a hard mechanism—and all resolutely refuse to look at the universe as they look at a locomotive, fired, but without driver, and invariably slip something into the former which is not in the latter—the function of reason as supporting religious belief, and therefore faith, is as authoritative as its office of determining causes in the realm of physics. The fact that both belief and faith must be located in one common ground, which can exclude the impression of no phenomena, and hence none of the "substance of things hoped for," nor "evidence of things unseen," reveals the true relation between faith and reason. The acquiescence of religious faith is logical if it have sufficient grounds. To blandly insist that it has not, because evidences do not support belief, is merely to turn to the facts a blind eye. Assuming it to be impolite in the agnostic to deny the theist's facts, as well as an assertion of superhuman knowledge of an entire universe, the question occurs, If religious faith has not sufficient grounds, what kind of faith has? What kind of rational conclusion has? Whatever the authority of revelation or the limitations of the human understanding, Christian faith claims to be bound by the laws of reason, because issuing from belief based on evidence. No question of comprehension is involved. We apprehend some meaning in words, though we may not be able to grasp all they connote. If comprehension is to fence out religious knowledge there is an end to all knowledge, and even consciousness becomes a myth. To dogmatize things out of accepted or possible knowledge because they are greater than thinkers is no more legitimate as to religious fields than it is as to scientific. The goal of good thinking is the reconciliation of possible facts with known facts,

the removal of logical contradictions, the establishment of truth in consciousness. Certainly, nebulosity is not that goal. But here the entire rubric of Christian truth makes its appeals. And, until some thinker arises who embraces intellectually all that is, has been, or may be, and, therefore, can point out to us just what are facts and evidences and what are not, these appeals must be as authoritative as the appeals of any truth not religious.

All legitimate belief may develop into biblical faith. "In all cases faith is a reliance, not directly upon our own reason or upon ourselves in any way, but upon the reason, the word, the wisdom, the goodness of some other personal being, and the proper office of reason is to see that we have sufficient ground for such reliance."* This definition was written with an end in view and is, therefore, suggestive only. There is faith and faith. In order to reason at all there must be belief (and faith) in mental powers; and by means of this belief (and faith) reason deals with facts, and thus induces further belief (and faith) in certain conclusions. The conclusions may embrace personal existences, together with their doings. It makes no difference if the personal existences are infinite and, therefore, in essence unthinkable. Let him that is just courageous enough *not to know* fetch up a concept of a finite (recognized) person. Some minds discourse about atoms, forces, infinite lines, infinite space, infinite duration. It is all simply word-storage. Yet it is perfectly legitimate. It is legitimate to talk about the infinite unknowable, if only you do mean something. The use of the word implies some knowledge. Belief based on evidence stores in the word such knowledge. Belief stores "Jehovah" or "God" similarly. The question is, and it is no other, What are the evidences that these words represent an existence? Reason deals with these evidences, belief recognizes the conclusion, and faith reposes in God.

There are those who insist that they apprehend in consciousness inner evidences of God when reason has exhausted those external evidences which others decline to entertain. There are those who reach, partly on inner evidences, a belief in the general system of Christian truth. They are conscious of certain processes obtaining after stated conditions are fulfilled; and these

* Hopkins.

processes surpass in demonstrating value those which issue from external evidences. Here are some facts of consciousness which imperiously demand to be catalogued as facts. To deny the validity of this belief (and faith) is superciliousness, or it is irony; it assumes the superiority of the denier, or it concedes that of the believer, while covertly intending the opposite. No one can read Huxley or Draper, when they are not brutal, without discerning this attitude. Let us inject the Christian system into Hamilton's definition of science, as a "complement of cognitions, having in point of form the character of logical perfection, in point of matter the character of real truth." The fitness of the application is denied or questioned; that is, it is denied that the complement of cognitions concerning God, moral laws, the soul, Jesus Christ, and redemption has, in point of form, logical perfection, and in point of matter, real truth. In other words, the whole question is begged on grounds of impossibility of proof. But by what canon is any truth thus barred out? It is a question of facts. It is more—it is a question of intellectual consistency and courage. It is easy to say that these inner facts of consciousness, forgiveness, moral changes, emotional excitations, spiritual apprehensions are imaginary. But the epithet "imaginary" will hardly take the place of reasoning, and is scarcely potent enough to sweep away the facts. When obedience to the requirements of a system of life invariably brings into consciousness certain clearly defined and uniform states, the states are entitled to be called facts, and the facts logically support belief. If there are those who never find the facts it argues nothing except a want of the conditions. To question the facts outside the conditions is to establish an arsenal for the annihilation of science.

The facts of Christianity, both historical and experimental, cannot legitimately be slurred over. They demand explanation. Good thinking must determine their truth or falsity. The deductions arising from them invite examination in court. They simply ask that in the examination three things be observed: that the historical facts be determined on historical grounds, that the moral facts be determined on moral grounds, and that the offices which reason, belief, and faith hold anywhere obtain here. For, as in all knowledge, the religious materials are a mass of facts and deductions therefrom.

Not one of the doctrines essential to Christianity fails to endure these tests. While the subject-matter of religious differs from that of scientific belief, the formal processes of reason are the same. For example, the formal process of reason which convinces as to gravitation does not differ from the process convincing as to the existence of God. Belief in God issues from a study of known facts, and is the deduction of a hitherto unknown fact. In process, the arguments *in re* geology, biology, astronomy take the same molds with those involved in the cosmological, the ethical, the historical, the biblical, the experimental, and even the teleological, arguments as to a Supreme Being. The facts themselves, not excepting some of those which lie directly in consciousness, are results of previous deductions. This was as true concerning Newton's apple as Paul's vision on the Damascus road. It is so with all the fundamental facts of Christianity.

No one disputes that Christ lived. But the facts which show what kind of life he lived and what kind of being he was are in the same order with those which show what kind of being was Charlemagne, and what kind of life he lived. I am speaking now of the historic facts. As to the supernatural facts, they are to be determined as facts by the testimony of the historic facts, just as the assumption of the iron crown is to be determined by the historic facts. At present there is a loud insistence that the Bible be studied like any other book. So with Christ. Very good; then let the historic facts determine, on the laws of testimony admissible in any other case, the supernatural claims. If reference be had to Christ as present to the believer's consciousness, the facts supporting that belief belong with other facts present in consciousness, and can only be questioned by begging the question. If the historic facts demonstrate his claims (just what they are is a matter for criticism or exegesis, and not, at least primarily, for philosophy), the facts attesting personal presence must be reasoned about as are the facts attesting any personal apprehension—that is, on moral grounds. In dealing with Christ, the Son of God, we have to do no more with the unknown or unknowable than in dealing with any other person. All the facts in consciousness must be referred, for interpretation and authentication, to the historic or present external facts. Testimony simply asks a hearing

unprejudiced by the subject-matter in hand. The miraculous and supernatural elements cannot be passed by as impossible in any conception which posits God in law and understands by law a universal and intelligent mode of action; and if some one says he cannot do this the answer is, He is not compelled to do so, for it is not a matter of compulsion, but of rationality. And further, the facts which cause mind to posit God in law and interpret law as a mode of God's action are of the same order with the facts which cause mind to posit gravitation in matter and to interpret it as a method or mode of matter's action.

Miracles cannot be ordered out, either by notions of possibility, experience, or expediency. To assert that nature has no room for miracles is to assert for some men what no man has—an adequate knowledge of all her laws. To insist that miracles are contrary to experience is to assume that one man's experience is identical with every man's experience. To aver that miracles are not needed is to claim magnificently egotistic wisdom as to the government of this universe. Miracles maintain a formally rational basis, thus: law is a method of divine action; Christ is an historic being; his character is inconsistent with self-deception or knavery; contemporaries witnessed his life; their character and the purity of their recorded testimony are similarly inconsistent with self-deception or knavery. At the present hour there is, after all, only one question worth considering—the ability of Christ's disciples to see aright and report correctly the subject-matter of their testimony. In determining this question the surreptitious introduction of the impossibility or indemonstrability of supernatural manifestations is the poorest kind of beggary. The records may answer as to the disciples' ability. The records present the facts, whatever these may be. The facts in the records show that these men protray a character utterly beyond them, in spite of their ignorance, their Jewish prejudices, and a natural bent to magnify or distort, and that they have made statements which the laws of human nature declare beyond the power of creative imagination, yet containing the germs of a philosophy of being as foreign to their natural capacities and the age in which they lived as Darwin's theory of origins or Kant's categories are beyond the people of darkest Africa. Nor does it solve the problem to transfer the authorship to later years. These propositions are true even of a deferred author-

ship. The four gospels are naked of the signs of fancy, unless anything supernatural is fanciful; and that is the old beggar. Arnold's *dictum*, that Christ was so far above his disciples that they could not have correctly reported him, is answered by the fact that they (or some others?) did report him as they did, in such a way that, if their report was not correct, we have the problem of explaining how he was reported at all.

Here is a greater problem than miracles. Miracles fit into a system of thought at least formally rational; while Arnold's supposition can be made to fit nothing, but is a tremendous strain on what we know of human nature. Is the record of Christ one in which healthy, honest men, by no known law of human nature, blunder into an accidental portrait, with statements, events, and truths severely sober and absolutely beyond their power to create intentionally or unaided? Is it all a blunder? And in answering the question must we forever insist that the writers were either not healthy or not honest? Other honest men have been deceived. But error does not disprove truth; it clears away the evidences. And it is not a question of error in general, but of this particular error. Never before was such a blunder. The record is unique in the total absence of those badges of legend, imaginative growth, religious accretion, and oriental or human propensity which accompany error, unless, again, the supernatural is, *ipso facto*, such a badge—the old beggar once more. The fact that the gospel writers transcend themselves brings it out clearly that they have reported truth or blundered into the sublimest ideas and the most matchless picture. How they could thus blunder into what has caused an intellectual war of nearly twenty centuries, and into a system which enshrines the greatest force of earth's life, is a question so astonishing and so straining to the laws of life and good thinking that the questions of miracles and God manifest become merest child's play beside it. There is now but one problem for sages—to harmonize this astounding phenomenon with sober reason and accredited human nature. It seems easier to accept the record than to accomplish this unique task.

Beyond these lines rises the massing power of Christian evidences. No system of thought can be fairly judged by a study of isolated details. The study of an insect has small relation to physical life as a whole. If an extended view is essential to

a true grasp of nature, equally essential must be an effort to view religious truths in their entirety. The study of isolated details misses the effect of the whole upon the parts. To know the part it is necessary to allow for the influence of the whole. In moral things it is truer that the whole creates the parts than that the parts constitute the whole. It is impossible to convey a true impression of the whole by any isolated dealing with its components. If the one fact investigated remain a seeming contradiction, if its evidences, detached from those of its companions in the vast array of moral facts, seem inconclusive, it is apt to be denied as a fact, and this denial affects every other fact in turn. And yet the massing power of the whole may be the one thing necessary to the conclusiveness of the evidences under consideration. German rationalism multiplies instances. Christianity stands not by one fact, or by several facts considered separately, but by many, collective and relative. The nature of Christ does not rest upon miracles alone nor upon what he said of himself alone. A rational view of Christ is a complex result of mutually supporting and supported evidences. So of each great truth. It is true the study of details prepares for the study of the whole, but the massing force of the whole system is a factor returning upon the details, the value and validity of which are legitimately to be insisted upon. For, after all, only in those moods when the stress of thought over details is stilled in large outlooks, which forget the details in the immensities, does Christianity find its opportunity. Here appear the experimental evidences. In these moods Christian faith, as distinguished from belief, is born, and becomes the "substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." But the foundations are facts, and deductions therefrom come along by the same formal processes of reasoning that precede rational conviction anywhere.

Frank C. Haddock.

Art. VIII.—THE MECHANICAL CONCEPTION OF THE WORLD.

Amid the many conflicting theories as to the origin of the universe and its wonderful phenomena, the mechanical conception has been more largely adopted, by those who have rejected the teachings of a biblical theism, than any other recent anti-Christian explanation. To solve the problems which gather around the far-reaching realms of matter and mind and to lessen the burden of mystery which those problems contain, the endeavors of the ablest investigators have been directed from age to age. Without exaggeration, it may be affirmed that, after half a century of discussion, the best that the mechanical theory has to offer as an explanation of the universe has already been presented in the teachings of its ablest representatives. The demands which that theory makes upon the common intelligence of the race and upon the best instincts and convictions of our mental and moral constitution surpass in magnitude and difficulty all the miraculous interventions recorded in the biblical revelation, and involve us in contradictions and fallacies which cannot fail to force all healthy reasoning into a fierce and permanent rebellion.

The facts which confront us and demand an explanation are of the most wonderful character, and in extent are almost beyond calculation. The organic world around us and the far-stretching universe, with all their forces, laws, and marks of intelligent design; the human mind, with its rational faculties and moral powers, and the special work to which, by some agency, they have been assigned; the unity of the physical world; the presence and reign of law in all the realms to which human knowledge extends; the correspondences between the instincts of the brute and the outer world from which it draws its sustenance; the moral order of the world; the consciousness of the race, its religious beliefs in spiritual and invisible realities, and the vast influence of these convictions in every past age; the intellectual and moral achievements of mankind; the splendid array of characters distinguished for their lofty qualities, in spite of the most unpropitious surroundings; the presence of Christ in the world, his matchless personality, his

unmeasured influence upon all subsequent generations, and the grasp of his teachings upon the world of to-day—here are facts which call for explanation. And it must be an explanation that will satisfy the demands of our rational faculties, nor leave us in the bewildering mists of an Atlantic fog, crying out for a solution that will place our hopes upon the rock of everlasting stability.

Whence, then, came all the venerable and wonderful machinery of the universe by which we are surrounded and of which our world forms a part? No wonder that, as Emerson looked upon the immense and infinite handiwork, he exclaimed, in the language of one thrilled with the grandeur of such a spectacle, "I clap my hands in infantine joy and amazement before the first opening to me of all this magnificence, old with the lore and homage of innumerable ages." How came life upon our globe, with all its variety of manifestation? By what process came force and all the law and order which distinguish the physical and mental worlds, the freedom of choice which constitutes the true basis of moral responsibility and makes human conduct a vital element in the welfare of the race? Whence came our personal consciousness, and all the beliefs which have asserted their imperial power in the history of mankind and have proved themselves the sources of the mightiest impulses and organizations in the past and in this most progressive age? It is a noticeable fact that, as the universe is opened up yet more and more, its structure becomes invested with a grander meaning. W. S. Lilly, in the *Fortnightly Review* for July, 1887, has said that the progress of science multiplies the evidences of design in a most wonderful way. Dr. Dallinger, in his Fernley lecture for 1887, has also said:

> Design, purpose, intention appear, when all the facts of the universe are studied in the light of all our reasoning faculties, to be ineradicable. . . . All the universe, its whole progress in time and space, is one majestic evidence of design, and the will and purpose running through it are incapable of being shut out of our consciousness and reasoning faculties.

But, in responding to the demand for some adequate explanation of the facts already enumerated, what has materialism to offer? Does its solution of the vast order of things around us commend itself as sufficient to account for the results indicated? And, as a working hypothesis, is it adapted for general appli-

cation and practice? The materialistic philosophy, though marked by various peculiarities, has always been substantially the same. As has been said:

> It has ever regarded the raw eternal matter—the elemental stuff of creation—as the only substance and as the all-sufficient cause of every variety and species of life. It maintains that these various forms of life and the wonderful manifestations in all the departments of human thought are the outcome of forces which exist in unintelligible matter, and that evolution explains and accounts for the whole array of these wonderful facts. Man himself, with all his organs of body and faculties of mind, has been evolved from matter by physical laws or atomic forces working without guiding thought or influence.

Professor Tyndall has said, "The doctrine of evolution derives man in his totality from the interaction of organism and environment through countless ages." Büchner declares that "the human mind is the product of the change of matter." Moleschott says, "Thought is a motion of matter." Carl Vogt has also said, "Just as the liver secretes bile the brain secretes thought." The ground is taken by the leading advocates of materialism that matter is the only real substance in the universe, or, at least, the only substance of which we have any knowledge or about which we can speak with certainty. Huxley says, "I believe that we shall arrive at a mechanical equivalent of consciousness, just as we have arrived at a mechanical equivalent of heat;" and he adds, "Even those manifestations of intelligence and feeling which we rightly name the highest faculties are not excluded from this classification." We are also assured by the same school that "the soul of man is nothing more than a quality of the brain, and when the brain becomes disorganized by disease and death the soul vanishes into nonentity." The mechanical conception, as expounded by its ablest authorities, professes to explain the universe and its phenomena in terms of matter and motion alone. It thus deifies the mindless forces and operations of nature by making them adequate to the production and maintenance of the whole procession of wonders that surround us. Whoever, therefore, holds that matter or material force is eternal and originates all mind and mental power is a materialist, and is compelled to accept the conclusions which that theory logically involves. But Dr. Dallinger has well said, "This coarse materialism ignores too

much and assumes too much, and treats with manifest disdain the fundamental basis of our reasoning faculties."

Is it possible to accept a system which leaves the far-reaching universe, with its numberless evidences of intelligent purpose, to be explained by physical principles and methods alone, without inciting the indignation of those higher intuitions which distinguish us as intellectual and moral beings? Materialism assumes too much; and it is in its unreasonable assumptions that the fallacy and weakness of the whole system lie. It breaks down just where the highest demands of philosophy begin. Is it rational or possible to regard man, the highest product of the universe, as the effect of something itself destitute of mind and consciousness? Can the effect in any case be greater than the originating cause? Hermann Lotze, we are told, is full of scorn for the idea that a power that invested us with personality does not itself possess personality. Carlyle has said, in his life of Frederick the Great, that there was one form of skepticism which the all doubting Frederick could not endure: "It was flatly inconceivable to him that intellect and moral emotion could have been put into him by an entity that had none of its own."

This inconceivability is an experience of which all are conscious who attempt to make any effect greater than its cause. To credit the wonders of the organic world and the working out of the most marvelous and intelligent adaptations to "natural selection," to the notion of "unconscious ends," to the theory of "conditions of existence," or to "the fortuitous concourse of atoms" is not flattering either to science or to common sense. To account for "force by matter, for the orderly by the unorderly, for the organic by the unorganic, for life by chemistry and mechanism, for thought, feeling, and volition by molecular motion in the brain and nerves," demands a credence compared with which the claims of biblical revelation are unimportant. "We cannot," as a leading scientist of to-day has said, "think of any part of the world or universe and prevent the conviction that it has been ultimately caused." James Freeman Clarke has, also, observed, "If the universe has come from a gaseous nebula everything now in the universe must have been potentially present in the nebula, as the oak is potentially present in the the acorn." We can only get out of

molecular units that which is put into them. There can be no evolution without involution. If we accept the mechanical theory of the world's origin we cannot avoid accepting the absurd conclusion that the effect may be greater than the cause. No amount of intellectual acrobatism or legerdemain can shut off the inexorable demand that in every instance the cause shall be equal, or superior, to the effect. Dr. Lorimer, in his *Isms, Old and New*, has said that Locke witnesses to the validity of this position in the following words:

> Whatsoever is first of all things must necessarily contain in it, and actually have, at least all the perfections that can ever after exist; nor can it ever give to another any perfection that it hath not actually in itself, or, at least, in a higher degree; it necessarily follows that the first eternal Being cannot be matter.

Here the materialists are met with a most formidable difficulty. They are utterly unable to show that whatever is in the effect was first in the cause—that is, in the cause which they assign—and consequently are shut up to the illogical and absurd inference that there is something in the effect which is traceable to no cause whatever. In order to meet this view, materialists have endeavored to enlarge the original definition of matter, and new qualities have been ascribed to it. As Dr. James Martineau has said:

> Starting as a beggar, with scarce a rag of "property" to cover its bones, it turns up as a prince when large undertakings are wanted, loaded with investments and within an inch of a plenipotentiary. In short, you give it precisely what you require to take from it, and when your definition has made it "pregnant with all the future" there is no wonder if from it all the future might be born.

To submit to such jugglery as this and to accept such new definitions of matter as materialists, by the very narrowness of their theory are compelled to create, is to abnegate our intelligence and commit a mental suicide for which there is no apology whatever.

If the mechanical conception of the universe is carried out to its conclusion it leaves us with only a system of fatalism utterly antagonistic to that freedom of choice on which alone moral responsibility can rest. Man, with all his faculties, when viewed in the light of the godless system under review is nothing more than the outcome of blind and mindless forces,

the splendid product of some hapless chance, the unfortunate victim of the bitterest delusions and of a relentless, iron necessity. There can be neither praise nor blame, because the foundations of an intelligent choice are swept away by the resistless current. Obligation, duty, accountability are simply convenient fancies—generous, but misleading, dreams—having no more authority than an unbridled and unhealthy imagination sees fit to create. The disastrous results which would follow the unrestrained application of such teachings are worthy of more general attention than they usually receive. But the best consciousness of the race and the growing influence of deep convictions based on Christian theism will, we believe, neutralize the bold materialism of the age and grapple successfully with the errors which that speculation contains.

The apostles of unbelief may cry out about the "din of ecclesiastical rebuke," "irrational panics," and "theological gladiatorship;" but, when the loudest word has been spoken by these conjurers with atoms and molecules, let us remember that humanity adores no shadow, nor has it in its noblest instances been the deluded slave of some strange hallucination or misleading dream. Man is more than the child of "cosmic sparks;" his reason cannot be accounted for as the "grandchild of diffused fire mist;" he is something better than "wandering sorrow in a world of visions." When Herbert Spencer defines the moral sense as "only the past experience of countless generations commanding what is useful for the tribe," he does not furnish the explanation which the case demands. With shameless audacity and a vandalism that is barbaric, this materialistic conception of man's higher nature practically ignores the responsible offices of our moral faculties, insults our deepest instincts, denies the immortality of the soul, and leaves us in the darkness of dumb despair. By the same theory the world around us is left to be explained in terms of matter and motion alone; and its splendid aggregations of material and intelligent combinations are nothing more than the final outcome of some strange "haphazard of unintelligent forces" and the "amazing spectacle of unpurposed accidents." Man's entire constitution, as a reasonable being, must be altered before he will be able to "reduce the infinite creative music of the universe to the monotonous and soulless chatter of an enormous

mill swung by the stream of chance—in fact, a mill without a builder or a miller, grinding itself with a perpetual motion." We are told by those who proclaim this "gospel of the flesh," and who apparently delight in the glorification of unconscious and senseless atoms, that they are the "squatters of an advancing civilization." But, as Professor Christlieb has justly said, they are its gravediggers; and we see them swaggering as the heralds of freedom, when in fact they are the apostles of the most brutal tyranny and the most destructive teachings that have assailed the crown rights of humanity since the world began.

It would not be difficult to show, by quotations from prominent writers whose teachings have been a perpetual encouragement to the theory of the mechanical conception of the world, that they themselves refuse to be classed as materialists. It is significant that Huxley, Spencer, and Tyndall, after having in various ways committed themselves to the theory under review, object to the logical issues which it involves, and make their ultimate appeal to a power that is "inscrutable," "unknown," and "unknowable."

In conclusion, the best thought of the age is solidly against the materialistic philosophy; and with increasing emphasis that thought is pushing to the most pitiable straits the leaders who have championed the godless hypothesis we have been reviewing. Professor Tholuck is reported to have said, "If a man is a materialist we Germans think he is not educated." Joseph Cook, in his Boston lectures on biology, is responsible for the statement that "there is not in Germany to-day, except Haeckel, a single professor of real eminence who teaches philosophical materialism." Dr. J. H. Gladstone, said in December, 1887, that, out of thirty-five leading scientists who had given a dinner to Professor Tyndall, only three or four were on the side of skepticism; and that, looking over another list of those most eminent in science in England, nine of the first ten names were men of unquestionably religious character. The late presidents of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, the Royal Society, of London, and the French Academy were Christian men. Among the believers in Christian theism in the world of science have been Newton, Herschel, Descartes, Pascal, Leibnitz, Linnæus, Cuvier, Davy, Liebig, Ampère,

Faraday, Owen, Agassiz, Brewster, Clerk-Maxwell, Thomson, Tait, Dawson, Stokes, Beale, Pasteur, Flourens, Olney, Cayley, Lord Rayleigh, Dumas, Wurtz, Dallinger, and Lord Kelvin. Dr. Gladstone, himself an eminent scientist, says, "It is difficult for me to remember a single man of the first rank in science who is opposed to Christianity, unless that charge can be truthfully brought against my friend Professor Huxley."

Professor Max Müller, in the *Nineteenth Century* for December, 1894, ably gives his reasons for refusing to be classed as an agnostic. And Lord Salisbury, in his presidential address at the Oxford meeting of the British Association, August 8, 1894, replies in strong and conclusive language to Weismann's paper published a few months before, in which this prominent disciple of Darwin championed the theory of natural selection as "the only possible explanation we can conceive." In answer to this statement Lord Salisbury says:

> It seems strange that a philosopher of Professor Weismann's penetration should accept as established a hypothetical process, the truth of which he admits that he cannot demonstrate in detail and the operation of which he cannot even imagine. . . . I quite accept the professor's *dictum*, that if natural selection is rejected we have no resource but to fall back on the mediate or immediate agency of a principle of design. . . . I would rather lean to the conviction that the multiplying difficulties of the mechanical theory are weakening the influence it once acquired. I prefer to shelter myself in this matter behind the judgment of the greatest living master of natural science among us, Lord Kelvin, and to quote as my concluding words the striking language with which he closed his address from this chair more than twenty years ago. "I have always felt," he said, "that the hypothesis of natural selection does not contain the true theory of evolution, if evolution there has been in biology. . . . I feel profoundly convinced that the argument of design has been greatly too much lost sight of in recent zoological speculations. Overpoweringly strong proofs of intelligent and benevolent design lie around us; and if ever perplexities, whether metaphysical or scientific, turn us away from them for a time they come back upon us with irresistible force, showing to us through nature the influence of a free will, and teaching us that all living things depend on one everlasting Creator and Ruler."

The conclusion of John Addington Symonds, in his article on the "Progress of Thought in our Time" in a recent *Fortnightly Review*, is undoubtedly correct, that "the main fact in the intellectual development of the last half-century is the restoration of spirituality to our thoughts about the universe." Says Fisher, in his *Idea of God:*

From age to age men wrangle with their eyes turned away from the light, the world goes on to larger knowledge in spite of them, and does not lose its faith for all the darkeners of counsel may say. As in the roaring loom of time the endless web of events is woven, each strand shall make more and more visible the living garment of God.

Professor Bowne has truly remarked, in his *Philosophy of Theism*, that "the atheistic gust of recent years has about blown over, atheism is dead as a philosophy, and remains chiefly as a disposition. The critic must allow that the theistic outlook was never more encouraging." Seeking "the rational foundation of the theistic idea in the theistic consciousness of the race," he finds it in "the demand of our entire nature, intellectual, moral, æsthetic, and religious;" and he proceeds to show that, "without a theistic faith, we must stand as dumb and helpless before the deeper questions of thought and life as a Papuan or Patagonian before an eclipse."

William Harrison

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

All who are interested in the discussion aroused by, or the subject treated in, Dr. James Mudge's notable book on *Growth in Holiness toward Perfection*, will do well to ascertain by reading the book itself whether the things said about it, *pro* and *con*, are true or false. No volume recently issued by our Book Concern has received higher commendation or severer criticism. The result of the discussion will, we trust, be the promotion of holiness.

A Christian gentleman, eminent in position, in usefulness, in habitual candor, and in lifelong godliness, was heard to say, "I try to be as pious as I can, but am careful not to imagine myself to be more so than my brethren in good standing in the Church;" and again, "I am accustomed to believe that my brethren love God as much as I do." This is exemplary and sufficiently related to holy interests and large issues in the kingdom of love to justify its mention here.

In a time when it is said the thoughts of men are changing, old things terminating, new beginning, there is need of the spirit of scrutinizing and inquisitive caution which will not consent to the removal of old landmarks, institutions, customs until it is clearly shown and known what better thing is to be set in their places, and why and how it is better. H. P. Liddon declined A. P. Stanley's invitation to appear on a public occasion where his presence would most certainly be construed as an indication of sympathy on his part with the school of Maurice and Jowett; and in declining he wrote the Dean of Westminster: "You speak, my dear dean, of a period of transition. Transition to what? One current flows toward Mr. John Stuart Mill and positivism beyond, and another toward Baur and the school of Tübingen and the desolate waste beyond that. The Girondins of revolution have their day, but they make way for its Jacobins."

In every period of agitation for proposed change it is judicious to

ask, with utmost circumspection, Liddon's wise question, "Transition to what?" If we fail to ask it there can be no propriety in describing us as beings of "large discourse, looking before and after." Those whose habit is to insist upon this question are called conservatives. The specific nature of their usefulness is intimated in their name; unless they have been misnamed, their function is to conserve. Their method is to delay action on their own part and to obstruct it on the part of others until the right and expediency of the whole matter at issue have been exhaustively searched out, deliberately considered, and all effects of proposed changes carefully calculated. They keep in mind the fact that it is as possible for an organization to legislate away some vitally essential feature, perhaps its one uniquely valuable advantage, as for an individual to part with "the immediate jewel of his soul." By an immense aggregate of wisdom through a long period of time our general superintendency has been regarded as essential to the efficiency of the Methodist Episcopal system. He who bartered his birthright for a bowl of soup made a sad mess of things. The entertaining of plausible propositions for change has sometimes been a dalliance which "kissed away kingdoms and provinces."

Whenever in Church or State a clamor arises, fault-finding with things as they are, and agitating for change, the judicious will press several inquiries, such as, How many and who are making this demand? Where will the proposed change ultimately lead us? "Transition to what?" Will this new measure fit into the constitutional framework? If not, its advocates are laying beams that do not touch the walls and planning the collapse and downfall of the entire structure. No measure which cannot prove its right of way by answering satisfactorily the challenge of such inquiries should be permitted to pass.

The recent British election, amounting to a parliamentary revolution, seems to have pronounced a vigorous veto upon various pertinacious propositions for change.

NO SUICIDES ON THE CONGO.

M. Ferdinand Brunetière, of the French Academy, contends that modern progress has indefinitely increased the unhappiness of mankind. It is not said in a pessimistic spirit, but as a warning that moral forces and religious faith become more, and not less, important in an advanced and complex civilization, es-

pecially because one of their functions is to instruct, console, and control the defeated, the discontented, and the envious; for discontent and defeat are inevitably frequent incidents of a high civilization.

"There are no suicides on the Congo; but in Europe the number of suicides increases year by year," writes M. Brunetière.

Now we are not quite sure that the absence of suicide proves that the Congoan leads an entirely blissful existence. One fact to be considered is that the Congo native is not in much danger of the miseries of a tedious old age. He has small need to be in haste to kill himself, inasmuch as it is probable that some of his near neighbors or the gentlemen of the adjoining tribe will shortly save him that trouble by enthusiastically slaughtering him, if not roasting and eating him at an early day; so that if he is weary of life nothing is required of him but a little patience and he will have his wish, the exertion necessary to its accomplishment being borne by another rather than by himself. Nevertheless, we do not deny, but admit, that the French academician presents a point which is worth considering, and especially that his estimate of the present importance of religious faith is not overdrawn.

A moment's reflection perceives that both the subjective and objective causes of unhappiness are enlarged and intensified in the conditions of our modern world. Subjectively, an advanced civilization stimulates desires which push men to exertion; men aspire, resolve, and strive in larger numbers and with greater intensity, so incurring the risk of disappointment. More efforts overleap or fall short because more men are stirred by vaulting ambition to make daring and difficult attempts. If Icarus had been content to stay on the ground he would not have suffered his fall. Again, civilization raises ideals and standards of measurement, so that what was once accounted a satisfying success is now felt to be a mortifying and distressing failure. While more men succeed, judged by the old standards, yet there are more who have the sense of failure; and whether the defeat be real or imaginary, comparative only or utter, the effect on the feelings is equally poignant and bitter. What is true of the wealth standard is typical of many other things; within the memory of men still living fifty thousand dollars was accounted as great a fortune as a million now. Furthermore, it is a familiar fact that education and culture in all their forms, by quickening our perceptions, refining our sensibilities, and making life every way more vivid, increase our capacity for acute suffering; defeat, privation,

and disappointment are the more excruciating as our hyperæsthetic nerves are more tender. The barbarian's nerves of sensation are comparatively dull and immune from pain.

Objectively, also, the external conditions of modern life provide for much unhappiness. Occasions for discontent are more numerous as objects of desire are multiplied by the inventions for comfort and embellishment belonging to an increasingly elaborate and elegant civilization. Men live in sight of a vast number of desirable things which they cannot possess, and every such thing is a temptation to jealous dissatisfaction. Men and women do not go through the bazaar, as Socrates did, with uncovetous soul, thinking serenely how many things are there which they do not need; they go through teased by cravings far beyond their means. The tribe of Tantalus was never so large. Again, the required conditions for success are continually more rigid, exacting, and inclement. Competition is grim and grisly. Thousands are gored by "bulls" or crushed by "bears." In all lines of effort the pace is rapid, the strain incessant and enormous, so that success hinges upon exceptional speed and endurance. All business is done under risk of failure—a risk which cannot be insured against, because failure or success depends on the judgment and capacity of the individual himself. Hence come a vast number of defeats. Adversity and disaster are always present in the business world. All the exchanges witness a procession of disappearances not in the least mysterious. We hold that certain extreme representations of the general unprofitableness of business cannot be true. The assertion that ninety-nine out of every hundred fail moves us to ask the asserter for his definition of failure. If it be true that a large proportion fail to get rich and have to abandon various enterprises, yet certainly they at least succeed through many years in making a living; they have food in the pantry, if not a fortune in the bank. But, setting aside the absurd implication that as a rule business is carried on at a loss, it still remains true that as years go by there is a larger actual number, if not a greater proportion, of men who have failed or feel that they have.

This brief glance at the state of things in our advanced civilization makes it clear that the necessity for checks and defenses, anodynes and antidotes, against unhappiness is not diminished, but increased. The fairer and richer the world becomes under enlightened and cultivated humanity the farther removed is the probability of man's finding in earthly things full satisfaction for

all his desires. Just here it is necessary to point out that the constitution of human nature and the record of human experience agree in saying that no merely moral system, not even the best, supposing any such could be constructed without religion as a basis, can furnish the necessary inward comfort and support demanded by the keen severities of civilized life. No adequate remedy or relief can be found except in the divine consolations of a religion which reveals a loving Father, a compassionate Saviour, and an infinite Comforter. Such a religion is necessary most of all in a civilization which, in its pride of achievement and its self-sufficient confidence in its ability to solve all problems, notwithstanding its progress is attended by more, and not fewer, casualities, is tempted to believe that it does not need divine help and comfort at all. This high-strung, heady, spirited, and venturesome modern world cannot dispense with the Gospel nor afford that the consolations of God shall be small in its ambitious and sensitive heart. While religion has other and higher functions than offering a "consolation prize" to those who have failed, yet when the world's unhappiness is under consideration the imperative need for religion on this ground is as apparent as its indispensability on more purely ethical grounds. In such a world as we live in the failure of the faith would mean a vaster catastrophe than has yet afflicted our race, for this reason conspicuously, as well as for others—that the increase of unrelieved unhappiness would shortly paralyze the vital forces of civilization, and human energy be largely diverted from ordinary channels of endeavor by the noisome necessity of burying the bodies of an ever-increasing number of suicides. If men and women living in a Christian civilization do not avail themselves of the Gospel by the light of which it has grown, it were better for their happiness, here and hereafter, if they had been born on the Congo and lived in the stolid insensibility and low contentment of squalid barbarism.

A STUDY IN DYNAMICS.

One day a prophet of spiritual things was walking alone in a wood near Dulwich, England, when "the image flashed upon him of one walking thus alone through life—one apparently too obscure to leave a trace of his or her passage, yet exercising a lasting, though unconscious, influence at every step." This instantaneous conception worked itself out in process of time into the drama entitled "Pippa Passes," in which a past master of the contents

of human nature and life teaches the lesson of the imperial and propulsive power of purity. It is the story of a young factory girl named Felippa, pet-named Pippa, a winder in the silk mills in the Italian village of Asolo. One holiday, when the mills are closed, innocence in the person of little Pippa goes strolling up and down the streets and hillsides singing to itself, as innocence, who is God's daughter, will; and in four tragic moral crises, past the scenes of which she goes, her songs jostle evil off its track, fill headlong wickedness with hesitation, and rescue from temptation. The passing of this gentle girl disturbs the borders of her pathway more than would a cannon-ball express going by with a thunder roar, shaking the province and sucking a whirlwind after it.

"Pippa Passes," which Edmund Gosse and Edmund Clarence Stedman consider Browning's masterpiece, is a parable of the dynamics of character in its most delicate and ethereal action. This factory girl, all unawares, is out on a soul-saving service, an unconscious evangelist to four most critical, acute, and necessitous moral emergencies, which are pictured in four separate scenes, divided by suggestive and interpretative interludes.

In the first, Sebald and Ottima, a bold and reckless pair, caught in the carnal snare and guilty of murder besides, are sinning shamelessly in the mad delirium of unhallowed passion, when a girl's sweet voice comes over the garden wall and into the shrub-house, singing this exquisite song:

> The year's at the spring,
> And day's at the morn;
> Morning's at seven;
> The hillside's dew-pearled;
> The lark's on the wing;
> The snail's on the thorn;
> God's in his heaven—
> All's right with the world!

This, only this and nothing more, reaches the guilty lovers, and it leaves with them the vision of God overhead and innocence, blithe, happy, and trustful, under his eye. In a flash they see that virtue is better than vice; for all is well with the righteous, but the wages of sin is death. Sebald exclaims, "That little peasant's voice has righted all again. . . . I see what I have done entirely now." Pippa has broken the spell in which these sinning souls were bound, though she passes on knowing it not.

In the second, a young sculptor, Jules, is beside himself with

anger at discovering a nefarious plot contrived against him by a brutal gang bent on his ruin. Just when the culmination of his rage has swept him to the verge of deciding upon cruelty and murder as a method of revenge, by force of what we call accident and Heaven calls plan the little silk winder happens to be going by singing another song, and something in the music or the words abates his wrath, restores his self-control, clears his moral vision, and betters all his thoughts, including his artistic ideals, so that both the man and the artist are saved.

In the third, Luigi, a boy patriot with excessive zeal and erring judgment, is about setting out for Vienna to assassinate the emperor. While he and his mother, alone in a ruined turret, are talking of his rash and furious enterprise, the factory girl, warbling her harmless holiday away, passes underneath, and her song, stealing up, mingling its notes with his mother's entreaties, operates to soothe the fierceness of his spirit, and, there is reason to believe, introduces hesitation enough to weaken his bloody purpose from fulfillment.

In the fourth, a proud, worldly, and luxurious bishop sits in a palace, with a soul already darkened and unfaithful, and tempted now to flagrant and awful wickedness, when the clear young voice somewhere outside starts singing of nature's simplicities, serenities, and loyalties—trees, flowers, grass, birds, sun, stars, and moon—not omitting to close with God over all; and the imperiled bishop, listening, sees as if by sudden shining of celestial luminaries the black abyss before him, and with a loud outcry starts affrighted from its brink.

Pippa's songs have the effect of a moral recall and produce a moral recoil. This is because the songs she likes are like herself in quality, as if steeped in the purity of Pippa's spirit.

The essence of any personality is diffusive and distinguishable. That each person has a peculiar quality, distinct and inseparable, is familiar fact; in each the human elements are mixed after a special equation, compounding a unique result; and each declares his essential nature in every issuance, utterance, act. The opposite poles of personal quality are wide apart. The effluence of some is an effluvium, a noxious exhalation; the emanation of others is, to all our cognitions and sensibilities, the sweet "presence of a good diffused." This Edmund Gosse had in mind when he wrote concerning Walt Whitman, "Something mephitic breathes from this strange personality;" and Pius IX, when he sent word to Bishop Mermillod to remain at Ferney and

sweeten the place from the memories of Voltaire; and a Mohammedan Swedenborgian, if such there were, might explain that the Koran refers to this when it says that the houris of paradise perspire musk; and this also was meant by the man who wrote, "The one perfume, preferred by her, with which my mother was wont to touch her handkerchief when I was a boy, is as distinct to memory now as to my sense perception then, yet not more definite than the subtle aroma and bouquet of her personality, a spirit-perfume defying description or analysis, which is with me still as when her immediate presence diffused it here, though thirty years have passed since she added her fine fragrance to the aggregated sweetnesses of heaven." Now, Pippa illustrates the distinctness and positiveness of personal influence; she was a moral perfume sweetening in some degree all the air of Asolo, as if "her garments smelled of myrrh and aloes and cassia out of the ivory palaces." This guileless girl, a simple, artless, inexperienced little saint, happy in filial relations with God, saturates her world with sanctity as she moves.

The story of Pippa shows the startling force of personal influence, in its thinnest dilution and slightest tint, its filmiest form and lightest wafting, its softest note and faintest echo. The action of the power proceeding from her is exceedingly indirect, oblique, remote. She does not deliver a message, point a finger, direct a glance, or accost a soul. Innocence passing by simply vocalizes its maiden meditation in the air, and listening guilt, made conscious of sin and aware of heaven, trembles, cowers, relents, repents. Note, that nothing hortatory or didactic is in her songs, no stated decalogue or gospel. She is not singing from Rous's Psalms or the Church hymnal. Mendelssohn's "*Lieder ohne Worte*" are scarcely more indirect. As in the Eleusinian mysteries there was no doctrinal instruction, but all meanings were inferred from the spectacle, so in Pippa's songs there is nothing directive or admonitory; what message they are capable of impressing is an oblique suggestion from their drift and pitch. She is as undidactic as the virgin moon, which simply by its shining preaches of the sun whence it derives its light. Yet her sweet soliloquies, floating softly abroad, reach the tempted and the guilty in shrub-house and studio and turret and palace with the force of a John-the-Baptist message thundering righteousness and judgment; the proportion of effect to cause is as if a babe's breath should disperse the White Squadron or a film of vapor adrift in space derail the solar system. The tremendous dynam-

ics of character in its most rarefied and ethereal effluence is powerfully illustrated in Pippa. She is not only a perfume, but as much a power in Asolo as if she were a walking dynamo, an electric girl able to lift men with the tips of her fingers.

In "Pippa Passes" is shown, also, the possible might of personal influence acting in and limited to its briefest opportunity. This is intentionally italicized in the title given to the poem. This factory girl's holiday usefulness is shut up to a ministry of touch-and-go. Her transit was a mathematic tangent, just kissing the circumference of each moral crisis at a single point. But personality is electric and discharges its force through an instant's contact. Pippa's song flung out upon the air is like a live wire swinging loose; Ottima, Sebald, Jules, Luigi, and Monsignor feel the thrill. Only a moment at each critical station was she seen and heard; yet the power of her presence is imperial and decisive. The perturbation she causes is worthy of a passing world, as when huge Neptune, rolling in the offing of our system, pulls Uranus aside toward the outlying infinite. Nor is the effect temporary; on the contrary, permanent. Though Pippa is a wandering and intermittent voice, her echoes do not die on hill or field or river; they rather roll from soul to soul and grow forever and forever. The conjunction of a momentary cause and a lasting result, common enough everywhere else, is not absent from human intercourse. One lightning flash, and Alexis is dead and Luther impelled on his life-long course. As one prick of the cobra's fang sends venom through all the veins, so one impure suggestion may taint the whole mind. One summer a young Boston fish dealer had a few glimpses of Wilbur Fisk, and, enamored of the vision, Isaac Rich's life became like his name and was thenceforth dedicated to producing Wilbur Fisks. Christian workers are often oppressed with the feeling that transiency of opportunity prohibits large results. The man who toils year after year in the Judson Memorial Church, south of Washington Square, among the shifting population in sight of his tall tower, seems to himself as one standing on the bank of a swift stream shooting arrows at the logs floating past, or as one preaching in an elevator to people getting in and out at every floor, ministering to lives a moment within reach, then gone forever. So is it with the missionary telling of Jesus and the resurrection to an accidental group of heathen in the thronged bazaar, and the street preacher on the curbstone calling the denizens of city slums to repentance and reformation. And everywhere a great

part of religious work must be done in transient conditions, with only momentary opportunities; at which, the point here is, no worker need be disheartened. Pippa's passing influence stands as the very type of transiency, and reminds of that greatest ministry of all, when, throughout Galilee and Judea and beyond Jordan, in cities and villages and along the country-side, the wondrous and thrilling report ran near and far that Jesus of Nazareth was passing by.

If that which gives way and flies back before its opposite is thereby proven the less weighty and less mighty, then the superior force of purity is one of the doctrines of the drama here discussed. Not that goodness is always unconditionally invincible, for the world puts virtue in serious peril by many trials and tests. Not without danger was the walk the young silk winder took that day through Asolo. Knowledge of life makes one tremble to see innocence steering its light pinnace along the edges of those several whirlpools where souls were circling downward or spinning already in the vortex. Nor did wickedness omit to set its traps for such a prize as Pippa. Yet she came home unharmed at nightfall to her "large, mean, airy chamber." Virtue like hers, it seems, goes panoplied in its own whiteness. On the side of human possibility there is a moral health so sound and solid it will not take infection; and on the side of divine intention goodness is not meant to be a prey. The earth is not replenished with lambs for the delectation of bloodthirsty wolves. To be devoured is not the purposed fate of innocence. Una's intended place is on the lion's back, not inside his jaws. The will of Heaven is fulfilled in virtue's victory.

That goodness is superior in force, as well as in character, is a lesson needed by both good and bad. Evil's pomp and blare and fierce demeanor fright some timid souls. Its brazen effrontery and bullying mien and violent methods seem so formidable that good men, intimidated by its aggressive and defiant energy, write it unduly high in the scale of potencies, discouraging themselves and diffusing dismay around them. Doubt and fear say, "Beyond question goodness is supremely lovely; but is it strong for overcoming? The beauty of holiness none can dispute; but has it rugged robustness to contend with a brutal and bludgeoning world?" Surface appearance looks the other way. In the moment of conflict mild-mannered and sweet-spoken inoffensiveness seems no match for swash-buckler badness with its fists and firearms; but let the doubter go away a while, say for a gener-

ation or two, then come back and see that the tribe of the violent has perished, while the meek inherit the earth.

The children of the devil, with a blind faith in the bravado which seems like bravery and the audacity which mimics power, imagine, naturally enough, that the kingdom is theirs; they can easily outwit and outfight these innocents; therefore wickedness leaps with confident ferocity upon the little flock, so harmless and apparently so helpless. But in due time a Power which makes for righteousness gives the kingdom to that little flock. Then at the end of an experience immensely educational the undeceived dupes of the devil con the lesson set for them in characters of fire—"It's wiser being good than bad; it's safer being meek than fierce."

A totally unnatural and far more lamentable thing is that a puling and pusillanimous pessimism, which is less respectable than atheism, drivels sometimes from lips that ought to be manly and courageous. One of the sorest trials of those who believe in God is to hear the expression in Christian circles of gloomy views concerning the condition and prospects of mankind, as if Christ were a visionary and his Gospel a futility. Some morbid, twisted thinking gets the attribute of omnipotence shifted over from God to the devil; the Maker and Ruler of all is supposed to be at a disadvantage in his own universe. Mere heresy, a simple disagreement with a prevalent creed or generally accepted doctrine, is immensely less injurious than this cardinal, capital, utterly fatal sin of unbelief in God, upon which our Saviour—and, with equal distinctness, the nature of things—denounces unmitigated damnation. It is slandering the Creator to imply that he has permitted superior power to wickedness. Lincoln said, "God must love common people or he would not have made so many of them." Parity of reasoning would accuse him of a preference for evil if he had arranged that it might predominate. Despondent views of the final fortunes of the world are blasphemous. It is incredible that the Power which made all worlds has in any one of them given the kingdom to the wicked one. The Charioteer who drives this racing planet around its blue-walled sidereal stadium keeps the whip hand of all its forces; the wildest and most fractious he holds with a curb bit, and can throw them on their haunches when he pleases. So much of insurrectionary insolence as cannot ultimately be made to praise him he is abundantly able to restrain. Because "God's in his heaven" it is so well with the world that purity is able to triumph here. His saints are not a feeble folk,

but the most formidable force ever marshaled, the only surely conquering column that ever lifted its banner and took up its line of march across the plains of time.

Disbelief in the power of purity and truth and righteousness is fostered by demoralizing falsehoods in various copybook maxims and poetic quotations which attribute superior vitality, alertness, sagacity, and longevity to evil. Samples of such axioms of unbelief readily occur. "The evil that men do lives after them; the good is often interred with their bones." Whether result or recollection is referred to, this saying is not true. As for results, there is a lasting quality in the effects of virtue and a value which prompts society to preserve them. As for recollection, many monuments and celebrations perpetuate the remembrance of noble actions, while no commemoration is held or memorial reared on behalf of baseness. Evil deeds have in their nature something which inclines men for very shame to abstain from mention of them. They are put out of sight that they may be quickly and forever out of mind—consigned to oblivion as offal to a pit. The very name of the wicked shall rot.

"The good die young, but they whose hearts are dry as summer dust burn to the socket," is a poetic heresy which puts the exception in place of the rule, the general truth being that goodness and longevity go together in a long and fair survival of the fittest. In wisdom's right hand is length of days.

"A lie will travel round the world while truth is pulling on its boots" is a saying which gives an advantage to the lie. But the false is susceptible of, and at every step liable to, disproof positive and final; like Egyptian chariots without wheels, it drives heavily, while the true rolls forward on a firm foundation of fact, making its safe appeal to time. "The evil cannot brook delay; the good can well afford to wait." The revolving earth rolls in its vindication. Superior speed and energy are in the truth, and the Maker has pitched the slope of the world to the advantage of righteousness.

In the oft-quoted words, "Right forever on the scaffold, wrong forever on the throne," the twice-occurring adverb makes the lines untrue. Take it the ages through, rectitude fares better than rascality. Wrong oftenest feels the halter drawn. Criminals, and not honest men, wear out the gallows. "A charmed life old Goodness hath." In wisdom's left hand are riches and honor. Say ye to the righteous, it is and shall be well with him.

Even Scripture is perverted to unjust effect. "The children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light" is interpreted to imply a superior sagacity in the wicked. Only locally or exceptionally now and then have the words been true, the general fact being that "the best men ever prove the wisest too; something instinctive guides them still aright." Virtue alone is sagacious and strong. The all-good is the Almighty. We withhold worship unless we can address it to a Being amply entitled to the ascription, "For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever and ever. Amen!" The superior inherent force, as well as the supreme loveliness and dignity of goodness, is one of the doctrines of "Pippa Passes." Innocence goes forth through Asolo on an errand of power. Wickedness, conscious of manifold inferiority, cowers abashed before the moral majesty and might of passing purity and prepares for flight.

If one searches deeply for the secret of Pippa's power he sees that truth to essential fact requires it to be said that her superbly useful day is an instance of answered prayer. True, she frames no formal petition in our hearing; her prayer, like her gospel, is in solution making prayerfulness. She is influential for good because she desires to be. To be "useful to men and dear to God" is a cherished thought with her. Early and late, when she wakes and when she goes to sleep, God's service is on her mind, and, in her heart, habitually a forward-looking desire and a backward-looking wistfulness equivalent to prayer. She sets out in the morning with a wish to make the most and best of the "single day God lends to leaven, what were all earth else with a feel of heaven," and with fond apprehension of possible tasks to be imposed by God. And when she sits on her bedside at night we see there has been a steady longing in her heart; she would really like to know how she might approach these people—Sebald and Ottima, Jules, Luigi, and Monsignor—so as to touch them, some way move them; she thinks it was half promised in her morning hymn that her part with them might be in some sense important. And this obedient, unconsciously but powerfully influential child of God falls asleep with the thought that peradventure he may have used her in ways she knows nothing about, knowing that to be a happy habit he has.

Because this essay deals with some of the most puissant moving forces of man's world we have entitled it "A Study in Dynamics." Does the physicist object?

THE ARENA.

DR. MUDGE AND HIS BOOK.

I CRITICISE Dr. Mudge with extreme reluctance, because I do not wish to occupy my time in removing obstructions to the spread of holiness, preferring to devote myself to the direct enunciation of truth and positive enforcement of privilege and duty; and also because I do not like personal discussion. I bear nothing toward Dr. Mudge but love and respect. I have not the pleasure of knowing him personally, but have known of him for a decade or more. He wrote occasionally and well, some years since, for *Divine Life*. But his mind then, as I thought, was not exactly plumb on holiness. I place a respectful estimate upon him. I believe he possesses the ability, the literary qualifications, and the heart to write a superior and useful treatise on holiness; and, had he devoted his fine gifts to the achievement of such praiseworthy production, he might shine with the luster that now encircles the brow of Abel Stevens, the magnificent writer and faithful chronicler of our glorious career as a Church. In all of Stevens's voluminous and elegant pages there is not a hint of dissent to disaffect our people toward our traditional faith and prudential usages. Dr. Mudge could have done the same and worn like garlands; but he has chosen to put himself on record as a critic of Wesley and his cothinkers, ancient and modern, by writing a book entitled *Growth in Holiness toward Perfection; or, Progressive Sanctification.*

The very name of the book indicates departure from Methodism. It places no goal before the seeker, animates him by no attainable privilege, and allows no room for instantaneous salvation by faith. Indeed, a deplorable feature of the book is the paucity of allusion to faith. The great force in religion, and the cardinal factor in Christ's Gospel and all Methodist theology, is given a back seat. It is superseded by *growth*. And it is growth like that of a tree toward the clouds, objectless and without any boundary line. The seeker is baffled and forever disappointed, like a man making a desperate attempt to overtake the horizon. Observe, it is not growth to perfection, but growth *toward* perfection, which Dr. Mudge confesses is an ever-receding boundary (page 196). It is then a weary march toward the unattainable. But Wesley says, "Christian perfection or perfect love is a grace put within the reach of every man and receivable any moment by faith." Shall we exchange this present privilege for Dr. Mudge's never-ending journey toward nothing? So, progressive sanctification, accompanied with his denial of the possibility of entire perfection in this life, is no sanctification at all.

Passing from the title of the book to its contents, the skies do not brighten. From the author's censorious prologue of twenty-nine pages, which he denominates "Preliminary," to the recital of his experience, we find on every page divergence from Methodist faith and teaching.

The drift of his "Preliminary" is to discredit our standard authors, especially Wesley, to decry our terminology, to exalt the present above the past, and to overthrow our ancestral ideas on the subject of holiness. Wesley he represents as a novice, a "pioneer groping in mist and fog," and never getting quite out. He pats him on the shoulder and says, "He did well for his time," and then commiserates him because he lacked the light and opportunities of modern critics. As well commiserate the sun because he is not a lucifer match! John Wesley was one of the most learned and intellectual men of any age. That mind must be obtuse indeed which does not see the hand of Providence in raising up so accomplished a man, so profound a scholar, so astute a theologian, so versed an historian, so masterly a polemic—a man so rich in ancient lore, so completely abreast of the sciences of his day, and so deeply spiritual, zealous, and holy—to be the founder of the most evangelical Church in Christendom. Luther, Calvin, Chalmers, and Edwards pale before him. Where is the man who wrote so voluminously on topics of the day, at the same time made a Greek and a Hebrew grammar, translated the New Testament, making corrections in the King James' version a hundred years in advance of the recent extolled revision of the New Testament, and gave so learned and judicious a rendering that the revisers have simply followed his trail and adopted it? A man almost as much at home in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin as in his own tongue, and at the same time versed in all literature of the past and all sciences and questions of the day, civil and religious, is not the man to be set aside as a "beginner." Nor is a mind so clear, so logical, so practical and stalwart to be accused of befogging the Church with definitions of doctrine "unscientific, inexact, and muddled." John Wesley's is the monarch mind of Methodism.

For want of space I cannot quote and explode the mistakes of Dr. Mudge *in extenso*, though it would not be difficult to do so. I trust, however, to contribute something toward their disproof and the neutralization of their evil effects.

1. Our author inveighs against our doctrines. He repudiates both the doctrine and formula of "original sin," as held by Methodism and the general Church since the fourth century, and as incorporated in our Discipline as one of our Articles of Religion. He says that the terms "original sin," "birth sin," and "inbred sin" should be "dismissed to the museum of theological curiosities." He substitutes the word "depravity," claiming to desire and to give greater perspicuity to our definitions. Does the term "depravity" loom with light upon this profound and mysterious subject? The origin of human evil has been the problem of the ages, and has given rise to countless myths and superstitions. The only rational account is found in the first chapters of Genesis; and that is an account of an *original sin*, and traces it to man's delinquency. The question has often been asked why God made man when, by his attribute of prescience, he must have known that man would blunder and fall. I answer, because he could not make *man* at all if he did not make him with liabilities. It was an alternative of freedom or nonexistence. God

could have made an automaton without life, or an animal with only instinct, but he could not make *man* with reason and will without making him self-governing, able to stand and liable to fall. Man abused his liberty, which he need not have done, and which God warned him not to do. The consequence was that he fell into a condition of debasement and corruption, and became a wreck physically, intellectually, and morally. That is the history of the origin of the world's disaster in small compass. It is traced to a primary sin properly called "original sin." And it must be remembered that the primary sin was both an act and a state—an act of sinning and a state of sinfulness. The guilt of that first transgression is untransferable, and remains with the first transgressor; but as Adam was the head and progenitor of the race the effects of his sin became transmissible by natural generation, and actually blasted his progeny who had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression. Now the phrase "original sin" is exponential of the origin of our woes. It stands in our theology as an index to man's lapse and the world's misery. But "depravity" has no such relationship or significance. Depravity is an effect, not a cause. That men are depraved is obvious to all, but the question arises, How came they so? Did God create a race of depraved beings, or is depravity inherent in matter and mind, as some have conjectured? If not, whence our corruption and enfeebled faculties? The term "depravity" gives no answer.

2. Dr. Mudge rejects our definition of sin. Methodism, following Wesley, says that "sin is a willful transgression of a known divine law." St. John, in fewer words, says the same. Dr. Mudge defines sin as a "deviation from duty." Would theology or precision gain anything by the change? How can we know what duty is except by a revealed divine law? There is no duty where there is no law, and therefore no sin. "For where no law is, there is no transgression." If duty is to determine what sin is, it must mean our perception of duty, and that would subject right and wrong, sin and holiness, to man's caprices.

Dr. Mudge accuses the popular didactics as affirming that some sins are innocent and some guilty; some require an atonement and repentance and some do not; some are our fault and some are only our misfortune, etc. This is all news to the writer. We never read or heard such preaching. We have read of possible failures to measure up to an infinitely perfect standard through incapacity, but never thought of such imperceptible deviations as sins, and never found them catalogued as such until we read Dr. Mudge's book (pages 57, 58).

3. Again, Dr. Mudge objects to our terminology. He does not like "Christian perfection," "perfect love," "entire sanctification," "cleansing." The title of his book is a substitute for all these. For the word "cleansing" he would have us use the word "empowering," which involves an infelicity, and would make us read, "The blood of Jesus Christ his Son *empowereth* us from all sin. . . . If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to *empower* us from all unrighteousness." Is not this making rather free with the diction of an apostle?

4. Dr. Mudge also objects to our standard definition of holiness. Wesley teaches that holiness is perfect love. Our author says (page 83), "Holiness is that condition of human nature wherein the love of God rules." Is this an improvement? Is there no obscurity here? To what extent does love reign? Is it supreme and absolute, or only partial, in the regenerate? Wesley and St. John teach that love so reigns in the regenerate that they do not sin, though not saved from all inbred sinfulness. It is a limited monarchy. But, in the wholly sanctified, love reigns without a rival. In this we cling to the skirts of Wesley. Dr. Mudge, however, couples regeneration and holiness as synonymous terms. He says the regenerate are "more than partly holy" (page 82); which is equivalent to declaring they are entirely holy. Indeed, he goes so far as to affirm that even conversion is a sinless state. Speaking of his relatively holy man (page 136), these are his words: "He fulfills all the law which at present is binding upon him and, hence, may be called, in a very intelligible and wholly proper sense, sinless."

Now, this is contrary, not only to Wesley and Methodism, but also to the faith and teachings of the universal Church, unless we except Count Zinzendorf. Mr. Wesley hesitated to call the entirely sanctified "sinless," lest the term should be construed to mean too much and to cover all mistakes, errors, and slight deviations which are the inevitable result of infirmities and fallen faculties. But Dr. Mudge pronounces every young Convert "sinless." And yet, with strange inconsistency and contradiction, he minifies the perfection of perfect love, and denies its attainability in this life. He says (page 89), "To know and love God, then, or, in other words, to be his child, is to keep his word; and whosoever keeps his word, John says, has perfect love, which is precisely the same as to say that every child of God, in having God's love, has perfect love." And thus he teaches that every Christian, who is a Christian at all, has perfect love. This makes perfect love to consist, not in a holy affection at its maximum of intensity, as our Lord inculcates, but in outward compliance with his commandments. The truth is, our Lord and St. John both teach that to keep God's word, or commandments, is the fruit of perfect love, not its essence. And still, in palpable contradiction, Dr. Mudge denies the attainability of perfect love or entire sanctification. He says (page 157), "Entire sanctification, in the higher or absolute sense, where something more than the partial knowledge and inferior, undeveloped powers of the young convert come in, where, indeed, complete knowledge and the powers of unfallen humanity are implied, must, as with the higher perfection, tarry till another life."

Again, in speaking of the perfect man "in a complete or positive sense," (pages 138, 139), in contradistinction to the one who is relatively perfect or holy, he says: "The latter is delivered, not merely from all sin, but from all depravity." Then, quoting Wesley in respect to the wholly sanctified in this life, he adds: "Such a one has recovered the whole image of God, to use Wesley's language, his soul has been restored to its primitive health and original purity, he has all the mind that was in Christ, and

he walks uniformly as Christ walked." Then he quotes Bishop Foster on the same point, who says, "The propensities will no longer rebelliously strive with the conscience, no longer have undue power, like a frenzied patient, but, remaining and becoming restored to their right condition, will ask only their normal indulgence and exercise." Then Dr. Mudge gravely asks, "When will this be, and where?" and answers, "Not now or here, but in another world than this, when we shall have laid aside these enfeebled and enfeebling bodies which compel us to err." This locates sin in the body. If this is not flatly denying the attainability of entire sanctification in this life, what is? Nor can Dr. Mudge escape the denial by saying he is speaking of the perfection of glorified saints; for he uses the words of Wesley and Foster, both of whom applied their words to a state of grace attainable in this world.

Again, Dr. Mudge intensifies this denial as follows (page 221): "Our depravity may be very greatly diminished, how greatly none can tell; but, so far as we can perceive, it is never, in this life, absolutely destroyed." These denials utterly subvert the doctrine of sanctification as held by our Church. They do more; they necessitate a future probation. If I must carry my depravity, in part or in whole, into eternity, then I must have another trial there or clank my chains forever. Thus the heresy of a second probation is covertly broached by a Methodist preacher. Whatever converts eternity into a repair shop necessitates a future probation.

Dr. Mudge has written a book to dissipate the idea of a second blessing. This blessing is the specter that stares him in the face at every turn. Therefore opposition to it is the gist that runs through the whole volume. His belligerency toward it is like an army marching with fixed bayonets. Why it should throw any man into convulsions is strange. "Second blessing" is not a theological term with us. It is a word of convenience, a poetic grace. "Speak the second time, 'Be clean.'" It is allowed to stand as a commonplace denoting a second stage in Christian experience, but the phrase is not vital at all. But Dr. Mudge pursues it as if it twisted out of joint the process of personal salvation. To get rid of it he disparages Wesley and his cothinkers from the birth of Methodism to the present hour. At one time he depresses entire sanctification so low that every Christian can claim it; at another he lifts it so high that nobody can reach it.

5. He also invalidates the testimony of those Christians who humbly claim that to them this grace has been given, though less than the least of all saints. He discards the exegesis of Scripture texts by our profoundest minds and best scholars. He rejects all spiritual anointings, and even pentecostal baptisms of the Holy Ghost, except what is common to ordinary Christian life. Even his own experience, with which the book closes, is shaped and molded to discredit the Methodist view and to support his fancy of an endless growth toward nothing definite and a progressive sanctification which can never be grasped or finished in this or the next world.

In concluding this criticism we wish to say emphatically that we do not

accept and defend the Wesleyan doctrine of holiness because it is Wesleyan, but because it is scriptural and reasonable, and accords with experience. We have given a high character to John Wesley, not as a bigot or man worshiper, but to do justice to a great and good man, and to neutralize detractions in which inferior men frequently indulge. Nor are we a hobbyist on the theme of Christian perfection, as some regard all advocates of this special experience. We are as broad in our sympathies and views, and as zealous in our efforts to promote all the phases of spiritual experience and all the interests of the Church, as any other type or class of Christians. We are made a little peculiar, perhaps, because of the stress and urgency of our efforts, on one point of our general faith. We see all the lines of light, all the virtues of the atonement, all the forces of redemption, converging and focalizing in personal holiness. We think Christ came to restore the lost image of God. All else is incidental. But we see the Church without clear vision or ardent feelings on this subject. Therefore we direct special attention to this aspect of religion, and pray that the Church may speedily rise in full-orbed holiness to hasten the millennium.

ASBURY LOWREY.

New York city.

OF WHAT USE IS IT?

WE mean the Song of Songs. What it is intended to be seems one of the things no one can find out. Dr. James Strong "accepts the view that the poem is a celebration of Solomon's marriage with a daughter of Pharaoh." Dr. Terry thinks that "the heroine of this poetic drama is to be understood as a fair young maiden of northern Palestine whom King Solomon is supposed to have sought in vain to win. She resists all his blandishments, rejects all his efforts, and remains true to her shepherd lover, to whom she is at last restored." And now in the September *Review* the Rev. W. W. Martin, in an article of great ingenuity, concludes that the poem is "a production of the exile," "a song of the Beloved and his love; and the Beloved is Jehovah, and his loved one his chosen people."

All of which moves us to ask: If, after some thousands of years of trying to find out what the Song of Solomon does mean, no more agreement is reached among our best and learned men, how successful is the book as a disclosure of saving truth? As a conundrum it is a great success, as a supernatural revelation it is a failure; for a revelation reveals something, while the Song of Songs reveals nothing. And how much divine inspiration is there about a production that presumably from the days of Solomon or of the exile to the closing years of the nineteenth century has been trying to get itself understood and has not yet succeeded? If any human being had made such an effort, and such a failure, men would conclude it was time to let somebody else try. It looks to the writer like nonsense to include this book among the Scriptures of divine truth—at least as in any sense especially inspired.

Jersey City, N. J. J. C. JACKSON.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

THE AGE OF THE SPECIALIST.

THE time has come when all classes of people unite in paying tribute to the specialist. The old in this respect has been superseded by the new. Breadth has given place, not to narrowness, for that would be too sweeping a term, but to depth as applied to a narrow field. In other words, general ability gives place to special qualifications in particular lines. A general practitioner in medicine is rarely found, except in remote places, and even they on important occasions refer to the specialist. This seems natural and desirable, and yet there is danger of its being overdone. There are many spheres of activity in which a well-rounded man is of more service than one specially fitted for a particular department can possibly be.

The ministry of the Gospel illustrates this. There are diversities of gifts in the ministry, as well as diversities of functions. Some have special aptitude as evangelists. They have great powers of exhortation and appeal. They can gather people to their sermons, can reach them in their homes, and have rare insight into the mode of dealing with struggling souls. This is a great power, and one that ought not to be undervalued. Then there are great preachers. They excel in public address. It is said of them that the pulpit is their throne. They are sought for their oratorical ability, and command large congregations. From the days of Demosthenes great orators, whether in Church or State, have won the homage of mankind. Effectiveness in the composition and delivery of sermons is a power for good which is recognized by Protestant Christendom. The preaching of the Gospel is the supreme function of the minister. Paul himself magnified preaching as compared to the administration of ordinances when he said, "For Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel." Some are eminently successful as pastors. They have sympathy, they have tact, they have a knowledge of people, and can minister to them in their times of difficulty. This capacity is often undervalued, as if it were inferior to the more showy gifts; but good pastors are often more effective than are powerful preachers who neglect pastoral work.

None of these capacities, great as they are in themselves, can achieve complete success in the Gospel ministry without the others. They are all essential, and he who would be at his best in the Master's service should cultivate them all. The faithful pastor, the powerful preacher, the warm evangelist, united in one person, constitute a personality whose effectiveness for good cannot be questioned.

And here the question arises for the consideration of the young preacher. The specialist in religious work is sought, while the all-round preacher is overlooked. It is announced in glowing words that

the celebrated revivalist or the famous orator is about to visit the city; but the balanced Christian minister, who has made his work tell in every department of Church life, receives little or no public recognition. A true man with a real mission has no desire for notoriety. He is satisfied to see the Church move steadily forward; he rejoices, not in the fact that his praises are sounded on earth, but that his name is written in heaven, and that in due time he shall "come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him."

This view does not undervalue specialization, but merely aims to assign to it its proper position. In science, literature, and art, and even in practical Christian work, there must be specialists. The professor of geology, of philosophy, of philology must not only have a general training, but in his chosen field he must be a specialist. Nor can anyone question that he who would do his best work in the various fields of reform must be largely a man of one supreme aim, and must have special equipment for it. Each young man who enters the ministry should endeavor to ascertain his adaptations and await the openings of Providence in regard to it. It is a safe rule that the man who has special gifts for any important necessary work will in due time be discovered. There are those constantly on the lookout for such persons, and humanity is waiting for them.

We repeat, however, that the ministry in general should contemplate only the pastorate as its appointed work. To minister to the people in spiritual things, to break to them Sabbath after Sabbath for successive years the bread of life, to visit their sick, to bury their dead, to train their children, to sympathize with them in their troubles, is the work to which the minister of the Gospel is called. And what position or work could be grander or nobler? What a thing of power the regular ministry of the Church is! What noble men have filled it! How the world has been uplifted by it! It is worthy of the best talents and the best training.

It follows that the young preacher of this age should have a broad training. He should not content himself with a narrow study of one particular department. He must have a well-balanced preparation. He will do well to take the "regular course" in any institution to which he may go as a student. It should be his desire to excel in every department of study. Hebrew must not be neglected for philosophy, nor homiletics for Greek. Theology and history will have their own places; and in this way he will become "a workman that needeth not to be ashamed" in any field to which the providence of God may assign him.

This view will not prevent special attention to any study for which he may have a special aptitude or inclination, but his well-rounded preparation is the safest and surest way to the most complete mastery of any specialty. There should be, and is, in the Church, a place for everybody to work, a special field for men and women with special gifts; but the best field, on the whole, is the ordinary work of the Gospel minister.

TRANSFER OF MINISTERS.

THE Methodist Episcopal Church differs from most of the other denominations in the absoluteness of the power of appointment. From an episcopal decision as to the field which the minister is to occupy, when made in conformity with the law of the Church, there can be no appeal. This is true in the several Conferences, and applies with equal force to the transfer of preachers from one Conference to another. While in the Presbyterian Church, for instance, a formal call is necessary and the preacher may accept or decline, in our Church the decision of the bishop as to a transfer is final. It is assumed, of course, that in the administration of this authority he will consult the wishes of both the preacher and the people. We presume few transfers are made where the consent of both parties has not first been obtained.

This method makes the transfer of preachers very simple, and encourages the wish to find in some other part of the country a more desirable field than the one the minister occupies. It is particularly so when what is called a suitable opening is not found in the Conference in which he is laboring. This method also has serious drawbacks. Many Conferences are already crowded, and the transfer of additional preachers to the stronger churches, as is generally the case, necessarily presses other brethren into smaller appointments, often greatly to their discomfort. Hence has arisen a demand on the part of ministers for what are called "equivalent transfers," that is, that as many shall be transferred from the Conference as are brought into it, and that the grade of appointments so filled shall be equal. This demand seems fair, and the authorities, we presume, conform to it whenever they can, without doing violence to what they believe to be the necessities of the work. How to adjust this system to all the conditions which confront us is one of the important problems demanding the consideration of the Church.

In the Itinerants' Club, however, we are interested in it as to its bearings on the preachers, especially the junior ministers. The difficulty of a wise solution of the question arises out of our peculiar mode of appointment. It is generally agreed that when a young man enters a Conference he expects to be assigned to a smaller charge, where he may have time to grow, and from which he will graduate into a larger field in due time. It is very rarely that he expects, or receives, a large appointment at the beginning of his ministry. Suppose, however, that a young preacher is assigned at once to a chief appointment. He accepts it, of course, with satisfaction, and probably fulfills its demands to the satisfaction of his people. According to our regulations, at the end of five years he must have a new charge. If he is a man of unusual ability he may go to another charge of the same grade, and then to another. By the time he has filled all the "chief appointments" he is still young. He perhaps recognizes the necessity of maintaining the position which he has secured. What shall be done? But two courses are open: if he remain in his Conference he may either be reappointed and serve these churches over

again, or he must consent to occupy places of inferior rank. For, while there ought to be no grades in ministerial service, every minister as called of God being fully the equal of every other, in popular opinion the pastorate in large churches is held to be more desirable than in the smaller ones. This condition of things at once forces upon his attention the desirability of securing a transfer to a large church in some other Conference, and in this way maintaining his ministerial standing. The alternative seems to be, "Step down or step out of the Conference;" and often he chooses the latter. Of course, we must not question that the desire for larger usefulness in a new field enters into the consideration.

In such circumstances—and we have cited actual conditions—what shall the minister do? One answer would be that in three cases out of four it would be better in the long run for him to remain in his Conference and take the work assigned him. It is not necessary to serve the most wealthy or the largest churches to have wide influence and usefulness. A study of any Annual Conference will show that many of their strongest and most influential men have never filled its most prominent pulpits. Transfers have come and gone, and scarcely left an impression; but these faithful men have done work which has remained. There is great danger of confounding great popularity with great influence. These may coexist, and they may not. He who stands by the work, in its general and special obligations, in some particular locality has a better opportunity for permanent usefulness than he who is constantly going from place to place. While a Methodist minister cannot remain in one church he can become an influential part of some Conference which is his home.

This position is enforced by the fact that it is common to hear preachers, who have filled the most prominent appointments in our various Conferences, declare that they now propose to settle down and have a Conference home. This is not an argument for lifelong pastorates, nor yet against the acceptance of a responsible position in some other part of the country; but it is an argument against changing chiefly to maintain one's ministerial standing. A reference to the men who have been transferred from time to time will show how devoted they have been to the Church, and probably no conditions will arise which would even suggest the elimination of the transfer system.

There is a point of importance to young preachers growing out of the above considerations. They are often anxious to advance rapidly to the most difficult fields of labor, and in doing so they often hinder their highest usefulness in the coming years. They take upon them responsibilities which can be borne far better with accumulated knowledge and experience. They have no time to grow. They are so pressed that they have only opportunity for those studies which bear upon their immediate work. If they attempt more it involves a strain upon their health which might otherwise have been avoided.

The conditions of our Church life enable a young man to grow in position as well as in ability and experience from year to year. As he advances in age new and higher responsibilities are put upon him; and

thus his whole life becomes an advance—at least until that time comes, which comes to all, when he can no longer bear the burdens of his earlier years. There is no satisfaction which comes to the minister of the Gospel greater than the knowledge that he is advancing in spiritual experience, in ability to work, and in opportunities for usefulness. Great and noble men have worked for years in small places, and have acknowledged that in them they laid the foundations of their strength.

In a conversation the writer once had with Henry Ward Beecher the latter referred to a young Congregational minister in whom he had a deep interest, and said that he could readily have secured him a position in a city church, but that he had advised him to stay in his remote country parish until he had prepared sermons, gained experience, acquired knowledge, and was thus ready for larger responsibilities. "Whosoever of you will be the chiefest, shall be servant of all."

CONFERENCE EXAMINATIONS.

THE "Itinerants' Club" is glad to note the increased interest that is being taken in Conference examinations and the improved methods which are being adopted. Method in every department is a growth, and the manner of conducting examinations in institutions of learning has been only gradually developed in the course of years; so that we cannot hope at present for such completeness of method as will be acceptable to all interested in the subject.

A number of communications have appeared in the "Itinerants' Club" on this subject, which have all contributed to fuller information. Interest in the matter is shown in all parts of the Church. There is a clear indication, therefore, that after a while some uniformity may be reached on the subject which shall be helpful in the mastery of the extended course of study now laid down for our preachers in the Conferences Brother Townsend in our last issue furnished a communication from the New York East Conference. We herewith print approving remarks by Brother Wright, of the South Kansas Conference, in which he describes the method adopted by that body, and shows the successful working of the plan:

"Brother Townsend's suggestions as to future examinations in the New York East Conference are good. In the South Kansas Conference we study the books together, under competent instructors, at the midsummer session of the Itinerants' Club, which lasts ten days. If examiners are present, and students wish it, the examination then takes place on such books as are mutually agreed on. The questions for remaining books are sent to the pastor nearest the student. There are no examinations at Conference except for those who seek admission on trial and for such brethren as were prevented from taking examination during the year. The plan works well. There is no hurry and worry, as in former times, and the Conference sessions are enjoyed much better, as more time can be given to other interests.

"*Independence, Kan.* J. W. WRIGHT."

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

UR OF THE CHALDEES.

THE biblical references to this ancient city are very brief and purely incidental. The longest is: "And Terah took Abram his son, and Lot the son of Haran his son's son, and Sarai his daughter-in-law, his son Abram's wife; and they went forth with them from Ur of the Chaldees, to go into the land of Canaan; and they came unto Haran, and dwelt there" (Gen. xi, 31). The exact site of Ur has been a disputed point, and no less than five places have been named as the probable early home of Abraham. The fact that he came to Canaan by way of Haran, where Terah died, has led some to identify it with Urfa, a little north of Haran. This looks, at first sight, quite probable, for, if Ur was in the extreme south, not far from the Persian Gulf, and on the right bank of the Euphrates, why, it is asked, should Abraham start directly north instead of west, and cross the Euphrates twice, when he might have reached Canaan without crossing this river at all? The question of route depended on several circumstances. In the first place, Terah was not an ordinary emigrant with his own family alone, but rather a powerful chieftain, with two or three thousand followers in his train and a very large number of cattle and flocks of various kinds. Thus not only the pasture for his flocks, but also their safety as well as that of his people, would influence the choice of a route. Without, however, entering into details, we might say that most Assyriologists now favor locating ancient Ur at the present ruins of Mugheir, on the western bank of the Euphrates. These ruins, though now about six miles from the river, were formerly without doubt quite near its bank, and not very far from the gulf. The accumulation of alluvium might explain the apparent receding of the sea, while the construction of canals or the changing of the course of the river might account for the distance between the ruins of Mugheir and the Euphrates. The ancient name of Mugheir was Uru. This, as Schrader remarks, is proved by the records of ancient Babylonian kings, found on the very spot. This great scholar, as well as most Assyriologists, agree that Uru of the cuneiform inscriptions is the identical biblical Ur. The inscriptions found in this most important, and perhaps the oldest, city of southern Chaldea, and in neighboring places which were dependencies of Ur, have been very numerous and varied in character. Hommel has done great work in deciphering them.

The word "Ur" probably means "city;" then "Ur of the Chaldees" is equivalent to "the city, or capital, of Chaldea." According to Sayce, Uru is the Semitic form of the Sumerian *eri*. That Ur was a most important city, in short, the metropolis, is proved by many inscribed bricks, found not only at Ur itself, but in the ruined temples of neighboring places, as at Niffer, Senkerah, etc. These bricks bear the name of Urukh

(better Urbau), king of Ur. There are also many inscriptions, as those on the statues of Gudea (about 2800 B. C.), which bear testimony to the greatness of Chaldea, and of Ur, in particular, which ages before Abraham was a great commercial and industrial center. Professor McCurdy, in his recent and very able work,* says of the earliest inhabitants of Babylonia: "The obscurity that involves the early times of western Asia is first pierced by the light that breaks in upon it from the east, the scene of man's creation and the seat of the earliest civilizations; and though the rays are rare and scattered, and reach only a little way, leaving long tracks of time unillumined, yet we know that three empires, each of them lasting for hundreds of years, had risen, flourished, and fallen in Babylonia, while the rest of western Asia was as yet politically unorganized, and before the ancestor of the Israelites had left his native Ur of the Chaldees." Whether the ancient rulers of Chaldea were Semitic need not be discussed here. We are, however, inclined to the belief, with Professor Hilprecht, that the recent expedition sent out by the University of Pennsylvania "supplied irrefutable proof of the historical character of this primitive Semitic kingdom."

Ancient classical writers have wonderful things to relate regarding the fertility of the soil of the country about Ur, which repaid the toils of the cultivator of wheat and barley sometimes with a yield which was three hundredfold. Such enormous crops would be a source of great revenue, and doubtless large quantities of these cereals would be exported to distant lands less favored by nature, whence useful articles would be brought back in return. We know from the monuments that western Asia, Arabia, and Egypt were connected by numerous caravan routes as early as the thirty-ninth century B. C., and that the ships of Ur made voyages far and wide, as to Nituk, or Dilmun, Magan, and Milukhkha. Delitzsch thinks Dilmun to be the island of Bahrein in the Persian Gulf, which was a great emporium for the exchange of commodities. Magan, though not positively identified, was most probably some port on the Red Sea. This conclusion is favored by the nature of the goods said to have been imported from Magan. Many think that the stones used for the statues of Gudea, diorite and dolomite, must have come from the peninsula of Sinai. The cypress, pine, and cedar wood used in finishing the temples and palaces were, according to the inscriptions on Gudea's statue, brought from Amanus; thus Lebanon, Anti-Lebanon, and the Taurus would be laid under contribution. The lumber from these distant regions, having once reached the Euphrates, could have been floated down on rafts with great ease.

Naturally such commerce would produce great wealth, which, in turn, would produce skilled workmen. Sculpture had reached a point higher than that of early Egypt. The veteran archæologist Maspero, who is everywhere regarded as an authority on questions pertaining to ancient art, ranks the porphyry cylinder of Shargani's scribe as among the masterpieces of oriental engravings. Neither does this cylinder stand quite

* *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, § 70.

alone, for hundreds of them have been gathered along the Euphrates, of exquisite beauty and form. Metallurgy was also in an advanced state. Not only do we find objects in bronze, such as lances and swords, but articles made of silver have also been unearthed. Indeed, one of the most interesting discoveries of M. de Sarsec was a silver vase. This "earliest known work of the silversmith" is thus described: "The vase is mounted on four feet of copper, decorated in pounced work, with four lion-headed eagles planting their claws in the backs of lions, which alternate with deer and ibexes, . . . and inscribed with the name of Entéména, one of their earliest kings."

The most interesting tablets found in these regions are what are called envelope tablets, used by large business firms. Some seventy of these were discovered, as early as 1856, by Mr. Loftus, at Tel-Sifr, a dependency of Ur. Dr. Budge, on his visit to Babylon in 1888, came across many more of these business tablets. They were from Ur, Larsa, and Sippara, where the firm of Zini-Istar had branch establishments. In these ancient business records we read of land agents, solicitors, hiring of slaves, renting and leasing of houses and lands. One tablet is the lease of a "beerhouse," in the basement of a building. The words used for beerhouse are Bit-Sikari, which the Hebrew scholar will recognize as the equivalent of the Hebrew *beth*, house, and *shekar*, strong drink. A literal translation of this very ancient deed or lease runs thus: "Two thirds *sar* five *gin*, a piece of ground on which a house is built, a room being in the foundation part of the beerhouse adjacent, and a portion of its wall. All of the wall of which is firmly placed with (its) beams and ties. From Sin-abu-su and Sin-remeni, sons of Mur-ili-su, Ikbi-Istar for its full —— price of silver has paid. The bargain is complete, and the price in full for the house is paid. May there be satisfaction to future days. Sin-abu-su and Sin-remeni from this house shall not ask damages. They swore an oath by Samas and Imeru that they will take no proceedings on this contract." Mr. Boscawen, speaking of these ancient documents, says, "They are the records of the very population, if not of the kinsmen, from among whom Abram started to journey to the land of promise." Among the thirty thousand cuneiform tablets discovered at Niffer by the expedition of the University of Pennsylvania there are many contract tablets. Such then was the civilization of the land from which Abraham emigrated.*

*Since the above was in type the following, bearing directly upon the question, has appeared from the pen of Professor Sayce. After calling attention to a pamphlet by Professor Hommel entitled *Aus der babylonischen Alterthumskunde*, which is replete with additional data, new facts, and suggestions calculated to shed light upon the early history of Babylonia, he says: "It will be a surprise to many to learn that six thousand years ago Babylonia was already engaged in active trade with Arabia, Syria, and the highlands of Kurdistan. Perhaps one of the most interesting facts brought to light by Professor Hommel is that Ine-Sin, who was king of Ur about B. C. 2500 or earlier, and in whose reign portions of the great Babylonian work on astronomy were compiled, subdued both Kimas, or central Arabia, and Zemar in Phœnicia (see Gen. 10. 18), while his daughter was *patesi* or high priestess of Anzan in Elam and Markhaskhi in northern Syria, where the Hittites were already astir. Still more interesting is the remarkable discovery made by Mr. Pinches of a tablet recording the war waged by Khammurabi of Babylon (B. C. 2250) against Eri-ku, or Arioch, king of Larsa, and his Elamite allies, which ended in the rise of a united monarchy

Strange, indeed, it is that in the face of all these facts there are Old Testament students who regard Abraham and even Moses as mythical existences, mere heroes of the poet's creation. The world is not as young as some scholars would make it, nor were all the nations of antiquity barbarians. It is amazing on what meager data some men will construct a top-heavy theory, unwarranted by anything but their own opinions. The story of Abraham, as told in Genesis, has the ring of true history, and there is no sufficient reason for abandoning the old view that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch.

THE PASSAGE OF THE RED SEA.

Was the passage of the Red Sea effected by natural agencies or miraculously? Good Adam Clarke most positively answers thus: "No natural agent could divide these waters and cause them to stand as a wall upon the right hand and upon the left;" while Wellhausen, with equal positiveness, says that a high wind during the night had left the shallow sea so low that it became possible to ford it. How beautiful the language of the psalmist referring to the event: "The waters saw thee, O God, the waters saw thee; they were afraid: the depths also were troubled. The clouds poured out water: the skies sent out a sound: thine arrows also went abroad. The voice of thy thunder was in the heaven: the lightnings lightened the world: the earth trembled and shook. Thy way is in the sea, and thy path in the great waters, and thy footsteps are not known. Thou leddest thy people like a flock by the hand of Moses and Aaron." And how convincing the words of Robinson on the same subject: "It was wrought by natural means supernaturally applied."

It is not the purpose of this note to enter into the merits of the question pro and con, but rather to call attention to a paper read by Major General Tulloch, of the British army, before the Victoria Institute on the 17th of last June. The general had been engaged recently by the War Office in a survey of what he regarded as the very section of Egypt "through which the route of the Exodus is said to have lain." As might be expected, the configuration of the surface after the lapse of thirty-four hundred years or more had undergone some change. He described with much vividness "the action of a gale of wind, which had stopped all survey work on the borders of Lake Menzaleh, in a few hours carrying the waters of the lake beyond the horizon, leaving all sailing vessels resting on the damp bed of the lake." This is not offered as a solution of the question, but simply as an important historical fact both valuable and interesting, and as showing clearly what has often been suggested before, that "wherever on the Suez the passage of the Israelites took place, the possibility of water being influenced by wind to so great an extent is demonstrated."

In Babylonia, with Babylon as its capital. Among the opponents of Khammurabi mention is made of Kudur-laga-mar (Chedorlaomer) the Elamite, Eri-aku, and Tudkhal, the Tidal of the Book of Genesis."

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

HOW THE CONVERSION OF EUROPE WAS ACCOMPLISHED.

THE principal of the Bareilly Theological Seminary, in India, the Rev. T. J. Scott, D.D., has published five articles in the *Indian Evangelical Review* of far more than usual grasp and analysis, on "The Evangelization of Europe—a Historical Study." Some exceedingly important lessons are emphasized in the author's masterful survey. He notes the length of time occupied in the conversion of the European continent as suggestive of the patience which must probably be exercised in the efforts to evangelize other continents. Sixteen hundred years were required for the nominal conversion of Europe, and missionaries were proportionately far more numerous than they now are in the great Asiatic fields. They were frequently a large community in the midst of pagans, rather than working singly or by twos among millions of heathen, as is now too often the case. These missionaries made much of preaching the truths of the Gospel, but not much of attacks "against the genealogies" of the "false divinities" of Europe. They also emphasized the education of children. The monasteries were colleges. Something like our orphanage work was carried on. There were also theological schools, as that of St. Martin, at Tours.

Leadership was also an important element. Wherever a born leader came to the front success was achieved. Columba could illuminate a book, bale out a boat, grind corn, give out medicine, or work on the monastery farm. Cuthbert's "life was lightning, his words thunder." Bede "lived in his pupils, and his pupils lived in him." They paid close attention to strategic points and opened great centers of work. The evangelists won by practical sympathy. Wilfrid of Sussex fed the starving people before preaching to them. Converts were pressed early into responsibility. In England a native episcopate was soon raised up. The chiefs and petty kings often led the way; the king secured, the clan followed. It was so in Munster, and so among the Celts of Scotland. It was so in Northumbria; so in Norway; so among the Slavs. It was not so at the beginning, but when Rome's imperial majesty grew to impress the people the Church never despised the provision by which the chiefs were won and the masses followed.

Yet "the sad page in the history of the evangelization of Europe is that which records the brutal force used in the coercion of multitudes into an outward acceptance of Christianity." Heathenism was in some quarters hacked and cut to pieces by German troops and Gospel "knights of the sword." Bishop Otho, with an armed escort of Polish soldiers, baptized seven thousand Pomeranians. Not that all these conversions *en bloc* were from coercion. It was not thus that St. Patrick baptized the seven sons of an Irish chief and twelve thousand of their people at one time. There was also the fact of great defection. Apostasy alternated

with reform. Relapses into idolatry of entire communities were a natural result from change of chiefs, where religion of the tribe followed the faith of the ruler.

One most suggestive point discussed by Dr. Scott is the extent of the toleration of pagan customs and their use in preparing the way for Christianity. The Celtic missionaries availed themselves of heathen temples and sacred wells, and adapted some festivals to their uses, just as the India Methodists have since done in establishing great Christian holidays on the days appointed for heathen festivity. This is an important question, full of peril, and as full of promise if handled judiciously.

Dr. Scott finds a parallel, in the British rule in India, to the effect of Roman colonial rule in its influence on the spread of Christianity. The Latin language and Roman civilization became a vehicle of transfusion of the Gospel among barbarous peoples; just as in India at present there is an unmeasured influence, in destructive and constructive activities favorable to the Gospel, exerted by the civilization accompanying the power and spread of the English language. Now, as in the case of the Roman, there may at times be a hatred of the Christian religion, because the people hate the political representative of it; nevertheless, the steady dissolvent influence of the dominating power surely does its work. The changes in costume and customs are symptomatic of simultaneous change in the mental and moral realm. But behind all such power and influence something else must be found to explain the triumph of Christianity. Jesus Christ kindled and kindles to-day an enthusiasm that cannot be expressed in terms of civilization and secularism. "There is always the supernatural *imperium in imperio.*"

There was ever underlying the historical incidents traversed in this presentation both systematic giving and consecration of life in the noblest altruism. This eventuated in establishing higher moral standards, a more intelligent and dominating Christian conscience, and consequently a better life for Europe. Thus it is to-day in India and elsewhere. The Gospel has not spent its energy; it can have no substitute in the elevation of the race.

THE MIXED ELEMENTS IN JAPAN.

In an elaborate analysis of the present attitude of the Japanese toward Christianity a writer fully conversant with the situation of affairs in Japan points out, among many other features, that there is a portion of the community which maintains silence, many of whom are in sympathy with the progress of Christianity in that land. Among these some are found in the editorial rooms of influential periodicals; some are educators, some lawyers, and some physicians; some are in the army and navy; and some are engaged in the commercial enterprises of the country. These are grieved at any antagonistic demonstrations against Christian evangelism, especially when accompanied by violent manifestation, regarding such demonstrations as damaging to the fair fame of the country, and as indicating an illiberality which will injure the prestige of the empire, now

seeking to be fully recognized in the comity of nations. Some of these men have come into close relations with Christian movements, and a few have been converted.

There is another segment of the community which maintains that the old religions are still in force and binding on all good citizens. The original placards prohibiting the introduction of a new religion have been removed, but the law has not been repealed. These placards were removed, ostensibly, on the plea that the people were fully advised of the law, and did not need further notification. The new constitution guarantees religious freedom, but within the bounds of the civil and national law as the expression of the prescribed "order." The argument goes in a circle. The constitutional liberty is limited by governmental control, and the government has not rescinded its old law; *ergo*, no one has a right under the new constitution to introduce a new religion, or to become a Christian! The emperor's rescript, issued in the interest of national ethics, has been used among the common people as evidence that Shintoism is still the national religion. This use of the emperor's name gives prestige to the old faith.

Another acknowledged difficulty is the offense caused by sundry Christian ideas. Most sweeping changes have ensued from the fundamental proposition of Christianity that a pure family must be the social unit. Then there are Confucianists with great power over middle-aged Japanese. The young men largely follow Huxley, Spencer, and Schopenhauer, and, being philosophers, hold themselves as necessarily skeptics on all religion. To these must be added still another class, the liberal divisions of the Christian Church, some of whose teachings are fundamentally antagonistic to the acceptance of vital Gospel truth. It goes without the saying that an interested commercial class will oppose Christian assault upon the opium traffic and the domestic manufacture of intoxicants from crude alcohol imported for the purpose. All these are, in one way and another, concerned in an appeal to nationalism.

MISSIONS IN THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS.

About a year ago the American Interseminary Missionary Alliance undertook to collect information as to the amount and character of special training given in the several theological schools of all denominations on the subject of missions. The investigation covered fifty-one leading schools, eleven being personally visited by representatives of the body instituting the inquiry. The exact language of the finding as summarized by the Rev. James Edward Adams, traveling secretary for the Missionary Alliance, may be more satisfactory than a restatement. Mr. Adams says: "As a result it was found that of the fifty-one seminaries (1) none had individual chairs on missions; (2) six had the subject as an officially recognized integral part of a chair; (3) thirty-four reported the subject as unofficially included in the general instruction of some other chair, as of Church history, practical theology, etc.; and out of thirty-four cata-

logues examined eighteen made no mention of the subject in their printed course of study; one reported an optional course of several terms in the specific history of missions; and several had special endowed lecture courses for the occasional treatment of missionary themes. Under class (2) of the six, three either never have had, or have not now, the missionary part of the chair in actual operation; in the remaining three, the average amount of time actually given to the subject is thirty-six hours of the seminary course. Under class (3) twelve state that they refer to what is given of the history of missions in the general instruction in Church history; nineteen reported as having it included in practical theology; and the average amount of time given to the subject was only eight lecture periods for the course." These statements are followed by a summary of the value placed on these several courses or partial courses by the students where, indeed, they were attempted to be carried out; and, naturally, the fragmentary treatment brought to them little satisfaction. An enthusiastic missionary professor might overaccentuate the subject; and some teachers have not made the special investigations necessary to the proportional and well-balanced presentation of the theme.

Altogether, it is quite too manifest that the whole matter of missionary training has not had distinct and careful consideration by those who formulate the courses of instruction in theological schools, and that there is no consensus of opinion as to what ought to be done. If the several theological faculties could meet to consider the subject, as the presidents of Methodist colleges did to discuss the question of the Bible in its relation to the college curriculum, they might evolve a general principle of procedure, if not uniformity in the balance and proportion of this subject with other subjects. Every department in a seminary, as in a college, feels the pressure of such demands for special consideration, and the authorities naturally shrink from new chairs and special departments, when the time is short for already approved subjects of drill. But the missionary activities of the age thrust profound problems on the living Church, with which the seminary ought to aid the prospective minister to grapple.

The secular newspaper and periodical press is materially affecting public opinion on some of the topics that involve the very existence of the Church as an aggressive organization. The pew feels the influence of this vigorous and incisive lecturer on missions, and the pulpit must therefore be trained, not only till the conscience of the preacher is aroused and his zeal enkindled, but till he can handle intelligently the missionary problems that press so vitally on the attention of the Christian Church.

Certainly the showing of Mr. Adams suggests that, on the whole, missions are at a serious disadvantage in seminary training. They are not an accident of theology or Church life. They are the center, the soul; that which makes all else of theology valuable. The great French statesman had the kernel of the thought who asked, when the constitution was matured, "Now, how shall we make it go?" The question after all theological training is, "How can we make the Church move?" Missions are the gospel of "Go," and the science of "Go" must be taught.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Eugène Ménégoz. With deep insight and great ability he has given himself to the study of New Testament theology. It may be well here to give some of his ideas concerning the Epistle to the Hebrews. Its author, he thinks, is Apollos, or some one who had been trained in the Jewish-Alexandrian culture, but who was profoundly impressed with the superiority of the Christian over the Jewish view of the world. It belongs to the second Christian generation, but was written prior to the destruction of the temple, probably between 64 and 67 A. D. It is a letter of warning to Jewish Christians who were in danger of apostasy on account of the delay of Christ's second coming, and was intended to attach them more firmly to the Christian community. The author of the epistle knew Christ by tradition. Christ's mission was the sacrifice of his life for the forgiveness of sins. Jesus frees us from all the unsatisfactory means which the pious of the old covenant employed to come near to God. Wherein the power of Christ's sacrifice to set the believer free consists Ménégoz cannot make out from the epistle. But it is not in a vicarious endurance of penalty. The benefits of Christ's sacrifice are appropriated by faith, which the epistle describes without reference to justification, and without any antithesis to the method of justification by works, as confident and persistent obedience in hope. Both Paul and the author of Hebrews recognize the providential significance of the law, as both recognize its fulfillment in the Gospel. But Hebrews marks strongly the difference between the Old and the New Testament covenant. The Gospel is the truth and perfection of the law. Through all, although somewhat indistinctly, there appears as the background of all these ideas the primitive Christian expectation of an early end of all things, which is rendered religiously valuable by such figures as the Sabbatic rest, the idea of an inheritance, a city of God, and the heavenly Jerusalem. The author of the epistle did not proceed as a dogmatician, but as an Old Testament Bible Christian, in reaching his conclusions. He was probably immediately dependent upon Philo for the literary form of his work. The influence of the epistle upon the history of doctrine was not as great as the epistles of Paul. Nevertheless, the universal recognition which it has received proves its power as a religious rather than an intellectual or moral work.

W. Brandt. That the course which criticism has taken is insufferable to sober minds can scarcely be better illustrated than in the case of Brandt. His vast and varied learning all will admit; but when he enters the field of criticism, where the judicial temperament is most needful, he breaks down. Yet it must be admitted that his excesses are the result of the consistent carrying out of methods and principles which others,

holding, fail to apply in their full extent. A recent work of his on the Gospel history and the origin of Christianity, based upon a criticism of the records concerning the sufferings and resurrection of our Lord, brings out his views of our holy religion. By the time he is through with the criticism of the Gospel account of the passion there is precious little left. Concerning the death of Christ the only thing that is fixed is that he died on a Friday. The last supper was only an ordinary evening meal, having no connection with the feast of the passover. In breaking the bread Jesus had in mind only the idea of fellowship; the cup of blessing could have been nothing more than a final draught in gratitude for the meal just enjoyed. Jesus could not have spoken of his death as having a saving significance. Paul, not Jesus, instituted the Lord's Supper, as a memorial of the saving merit of Jesus's death. All the reported utterances of Jesus from Gethsemane are regarded as more or less incredible. The entire account of the trial of Jesus, even in the form found in Mark, is an invention. It is impossible that Jesus should have been formally condemned as a blasphemer, since the Messianic claim was not blasphemous to a Jew. The record concerning Barabbas is set aside. Jesus made no peculiar claim to a divine consciousness. As little was he controlled by a Messianic consciousness, although the thought may have entered his mind. According to Brandt, Jesus did not originate Christianity. His disciples, for various reasons, altered his sayings and doings, and added to them until they were warped almost beyond recognition; and then the record was made of their putting of Christ's life and character, and from this Christianity arose. That is, in plain words, Christianity is not founded upon Christ, but upon a concatenation of falsehoods.

Auguste Gampert. French biblical critics of the first order are scarce. When they do appear they are as liable as critics of any other nation to vary from others in their opinions. Yet it must be confessed that generally they are followers of the newer ideas, particularly with reference to the Old Testament. Gampert is a fair illustration. For example, with regard to the law he thinks that the legislation of the Jews passed through the same phases as were experienced by other nations; that is, it began with oracles, then entered upon the phase of customary law, and finally was codified. He distinguishes a period of oral and a period of written law. In the ninth century B. C. the customary law found its first written form in the book of the covenant, Exod. xx, 23–xxiii, 19, and the decalogue as found in Exod. xxxiv. This customary law was developed under priestly influence, and took on a predominantly ritualistic character. Had it not been for the prophets who renewed the original form of Mosaism the priests would have brought Israel to religious and national ruin by the non-Mosaic, coarse, and sensuous conceptions which they introduced. With the Book of Deuteronomy the law entered upon its written period and resulted in a compromise between the prophets and the priests. As a consequence of the written law Israel remained the people of Jehovah, even in exile. On the other hand, the rule of the letter began thereby and for-

ever after hindered the free, independent influence of the prophets. Upon this fact was based, in the following period, the transition from prophetism to Levitism as it is witnessed in Ezekiel. Nevertheless, even after the exile Deuteronomy remained the official legislation. Ezra brought from Babylon and introduced in the temple worship of Jerusalem a form of worship which had been worked out by the priests who yet remained in exile. This law was the Priest's Codex in its original form. With it the evolution of the law was practically brought to a close. Soon after 444 P was united with JED into a legislative whole which became the official law of the Jewish Church. Moses, though not the author of the Pentateuch, was the founder of the Hebrew people and of the spiritual monotheism of Exod. xx.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte. By Professor O. Holtzmann. The object of the work as stated by the author is to furnish the historical material necessary to a correct understanding of the New Testament. According to this a *History of the New Testament Period* must furnish just the amount and kind of material from Jewish and Roman history which pertains to a full and clear comprehension of the events, circumstances, and ideas directly or indirectly mentioned in the New Testament. The assumption which underlies all this is that the New Testament is so organically connected with the period in which it originated that it cannot be understood except as the period is understood. But this need not imply that it is merely a product of the intellectual and religious activities of that age. It may be so understood as to mean that the revealing Spirit took into consideration the actual conditions of the people to whom the revelation was made. In any case it is true that no literary work can be understood except in the light of the period in which it originated. The attempt, however, to limit the information by which the reader of this age may be able to comprehend a work belonging to that is precarious. It is a fact that the whole spirit of an age is part of the information necessary to an understanding of any important phenomenon of it. This spirit cannot be sufficiently understood by the piecemeal information contained in a work of the kind under consideration. Well would it be had we a work which should exhaustively treat the entire phenomena of the period, so far, at least, as it falls within the limits of the Roman empire, and which should at the same time point out the specific connections which the New Testament makes with the culture of the age. Judged of from the standpoint of the author, which is essentially that of all who have preceded him, the work is valuable. Under the principal heads the book discusses the historical basis upon which the New Testament rests, the form which the Jewish life of the people manifested at the time, and the religious views and opinions of the Jews of the New Testament period. Under the last head also is discussed the influence of Hellenism upon the Jewish people, which, according to Holtzmann, is very great.

Cæsarius Von Arelate und die Gallische Kirche Seiner Zeit (Cæsarius of Arles and the Gallican Church of his Time). By Professor Carl Franklin Arnold. To the student of Church history the delineation of a great religious personality is a delight. When done in a scholarly and pleasing manner, as in this instance, the contribution to history is doubly valuable. History is not, as some have said, made up of a series of biographies of great men. True it is that the great men of history produced or embodied about all there is of history. But it would be improper to treat the other causes of events so discourteously as such a method would indicate. Nevertheless, the student who does not emphasize the importance of great characters and carefully study them cannot understand history. This it is which places us under such great obligations to the one who gives us a careful biography or study of some pivotal character. The Gallican Church cannot be understood without a knowledge of Cæsarius of Arles, the bishop, the preacher, the theologian. This book is the product of many years of careful research, and gives evidence that no pains have been spared to make the book trustworthy and complete, so that it is useful to the scholar, and at the same time entertaining, that it may entice the educated reader. The larger portion of the book is given up to the life and labors of its subject; but following this is a mass of materials from his writings, although strangely enough no complete list of works known to have been written by him is given. In respect to the author's judgment concerning the attitude of Cæsarius toward Augustinianism and Pelagianism there is room for difference of opinion. It is instructive to notice the variety of material which the book furnishes, for example, its discussion of the extent of the influence of the Athanasian Creed at that time, the relation of Cæsarius to the rule of the Convent of Lerins, and to the order of worship in the Gallican Church, the second Council of Orange, etc. But with all its fullness and pains it must be said that many points suggested will remain to be investigated anew. All such studies must only be contributions; the final completion of the work lies in the distance. But when one considers the benefits derivable from such studies he must be regarded as a benefactor who produces a book like this.

Das Indulgenz-Edict des Romischen Bischofs Kallist (The Edict of Indulgence of the Roman Bishop Callistus). By Ernst Rolffs. Tertullian's *De Pudicitia* reveals the fact that a Roman bishop had issued an edict absolving all adulterers and fornicators who should perform due penance. The *Philosophumena* of Hippolytus, discovered about the middle of this century, made it clear that the bishop whom Tertullian so vigorously attacked for this edict was Callistus. Rolffs, following a hint which had frequently been given, has undertaken to reconstruct the edict, which has not been preserved to us, from Tertullian's references to it or apparent quotations from it. About two dozen places in the *De Pudicitia* furnish him, as he thinks, the substance, and even the exact language, of the edict. Although there is nothing to be gained from a

verbal reconstruction of the edict in question, yet must the attempt be commended, though it failed. As a matter of fact, there can be no certainty as to the accuracy of the edict, for the text of *De Pudicitia* is not thoroughly settled, and Rolffs makes no attempt to settle it. But even if no difficulty arose from this source it would be impossible to make sure that Tertullian accurately quoted the edict. Did he have a copy of it before him, or did he quote it from hearsay? He was a bitter opponent of Callistus. Did he, consciously or unconsciously, warp his statements? This is, it is true, a purely literary question; but it is so connected with the historical controversy as to receive therefrom a profound importance. The same difficulty does not lie against the historical inferences to be drawn from Tertullian's work. For although there may be uncertainty as to the exact language in which forgiveness was offered to those who after baptism had committed sins of the flesh, the fact that it was offered is unquestioned. Aside from the acumen in literary criticism which the work displays it has its value in calling attention to the entire controversy which Tertullian waged against the Psychics, and will arouse interest in the investigation of questions more thoroughly practical than the one here proposed for solution.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

The So-Called Ethical Movement. While it originated in America and England, it has spread rapidly over continental Europe. In Berlin a "German Society for Ethical Culture" was organized in October, 1892, which has since reached all the most important cities of the Fatherland. Its president is Professor Dr. Förster, director of the Royal Observatory, although the soul of the organization is the soulless atheistic professor of ethics in the University of Berlin, Georg von Gizycki. The writer has seen him wheeled into his lecture room on his rolling chair, he being utterly unable to walk, and has heard him lecture. He is the most cynical-looking educated man we have ever seen. Nevertheless, he is the mouthpiece for a great number of the haters of religion in Germany. The fact that inside of three months from the founding of the society about one thousand persons had become members, mostly Berliners, doubtless drawn chiefly from the more educated classes, is of great significance. Already the society has its organ, *Ethische Kultur* (Ethical Culture), edited by Professor von Gizycki. Another organization springing from essentially the same spirit, but appealing to and controlled by less cultured and respectable personages, is the "Ethical Society," also having its headquarters in Berlin, and especially planned to promote and propagate the ethical views of the German Social Democracy. Alike opposed both to religion and the Church, these two societies divide with reference to practical ethics. The "German Society" is composed of or controlled by educated people, who, naturally, have a philosophical basis for their ethical opinions, and being less coarse in their tastes give their attention to the finer points of morals. The "Ethical Society," on the other hand, is

anxious to enforce the practical division of property and the equalization of incomes as soon as possible. As a specimen of the perversity of the whole movement wherever it has appeared, we may note the book of Stanton Coit, which has been translated into German under the title *Die ethische Bewegung in der Religion* (The Ethical Movement in Religion). Here the ministry are accused of teaching doctrines which they do not believe and taking part in ceremonies which they regard as senseless. The author assumes, not that the ministry are dishonest in the ordinary sense of the word, but that they are guilty of what he calls intellectual dishonesty. They do not say what they do not believe, but they believe what they have no sufficient reason for believing.

Congress of Christian Archæologists. An assembly of an unusual character was that which met near Salona, on the coast of Dalmatia, recently. The most distinguished archæologists of Europe, representing the Roman Catholic, the Greek Catholic, and the Protestant Church, met and discussed the problems pertaining to their special department of learning. The meeting was held in the historic spalato which is built in and around the ruins and remains of the splendid palace in which Diocletian sought refuge after his frantic but futile attempt to wipe the Christian religion from off the face of the earth, and where, in A. D. 313, shortly after Constantine and Licinius had proclaimed religious tolerance in Milan, he committed suicide. The entire region is rich in treasures of Christian antiquity, and this, together with the efforts of the Roman Catholic archæologist Bulic, induced these scholars to meet there. The committee having in charge all the arrangements was composed of eight Roman Catholics, the Greek Catholic, Dr. Dandaloff, of St. Petersburg, and Dr. Victor Schultze, of the University of Greifswald, the most prominent of Protestant scholars in this department. Every important country of Europe except England and France was represented in the congress, and about one hundred persons took part in the discussions, which were conducted in Latin, Italian, German, and other languages. Two of the principal speakers were Protestants, namely, Dr. Schultze, and Dr. Bosse, of Kiel. The former emphasized the importance of the foundation of museums of Christian archæology, and the latter the value of photography in archæological investigations. This first congress was so successful that it was decided to hold another in the near future.

The Drink and Tax Bills in Germany. The startling statement was made some time since in open parliament by the German imperial chancellor that the nation paid out annually for intoxicating drinks the enormous sum of 2,000,000,000 marks, or forty marks *per capita* of the population. Much is heard about the support of the army and its burden upon the people; but it costs only twenty marks *per capita* for the maintenance of the German government, including the army, or just half the *per capita* drink bill. So plain is the case becoming that economists and philanthropists are devising ways by which the evil may be abated or abolished.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

WELL is it for the purblind world that there are some who can read and interpret the signs of the times. Among those thus gifted with the prophet's discernment is Dean Farrar, of Canterbury. In his article on "Some Problems of the Age," in the October *North American*, he speaks with no uncertain voice of some existing social conditions "which it is blindness to ignore and madness not to appreciate in their full significance." The "problems and perils" he enumerates are: 1. The "enormous growth of stupendous fortunes" side by side with the existence of "squalid wretchedness and practical heathendom." 2. The "abnormal growth of great cities." In nearly every nation, "by a slow and hardly noticed social revolution, the old sweet country life is being merged into the struggling life of towns." London, for example, is "an appalling phenomenon," whose magnitude overwhelms such men as Heine, Huxley, and Rosebery. 3. The "unparalleled growth of population." In India this rapid increase has brought the masses to "almost chronic starvation." In England the births exceed the deaths by hundreds per day, and the competition for a livelihood is "almost overwhelming." 4. The increase of the dangerous elements of society. "There is," says Lowell, "a poison in the sores of Lazarus, against which Dives has no antidote." 5. A "deficiency of adequate charity." On "Hospital Sunday" the contributions in the many churches of London, says the Dean, average from £40,000 to £50,000. But the next day one reads "that £76,000 or £100,000 has been emulously poured out by a handful of rich people at Christie's, to purchase buhl, or bric-à-brac, or Queen Anne plate, or Louis Quatorze furniture, and that more has been bidden for a piece of ormolu, or a gold snuffbox, or three Sèvres vases than is contributed by several of our wealthiest congregations." 6. The growth of democracy. Together with this, the power of the workingmen and the demands of socialists and the labor party "are not without a sinister significance." 7. The possible decay of faith, as shown by the wide prevalence of atheism, socialism, and agnosticism, by the fact that Roman Catholicism has lost hold of millions on the Continent, and by the further fact that "powerful governments have erased from their statute books the name of God." Profound are these lessons pointed out by Dean Farrar, though they are familiar; and deserving of study are they by American sociologists, though they have for the most part an English setting.

THE *New Church Review* for October opens with an article on "Jonah," by T. F. Wright. He shows that the prophet was an historic character, and that the Book of Jonah is a "true account of events." L. P. Mercer contributes "The Stages of Regeneration, Illustrated in the History of the Patriarchs," and E. D. Daniels asks, "Do We Know the Absolute?"

The nature of "The Lord's Temptations" is considered by Arthur Faraday; and "The Structure of the Word" is discussed by P. B. Cabell. In "Hypnotism and Moral Responsibility" J. A. Hayes is slow to believe that the hypnotic subject should be relieved from the consequences of his acts. In "The Book of Daniel" W. H. Hinkley reviews Farrar's recent volume. "Through Egypt and Canaan," by F. A. Dewson, gives us interesting glimpses of Eastern travel. The concluding paper, by Frank Sewall, on "Coventry Patmore's Recognition of Swedenborg," shows the influence on this modern author of the great religious teacher, who is the patron saint of the New Church.

THE *Bibliotheca Sacra* for October has first a discussion of "The Sociological Value of the Old Testament," by Professor O. H. Gates. His main positions are that "the unit for consideration in the Old Testament is the people, and not an individual;" that the development of the history of Israel "constituted a sociological experiment;" and that in the preparation for Christ's coming there was "the growing recognition of the sociologica limportance of character." In the second article Dr. Washington Gladden writes clearly and strongly of "The Relation of Corporations to Public Morals." Professor C. Walker follows with an article on "Formulation of the Doctrine of the Mass at the Council of Trent," and Abraham Kuyper, D.D., in a translation from the Dutch by the Rev. J. Hendrik de Vries, discusses "Calvinism and Constitutional Liberties." Professor Edward Dickinson concludes an appreciative article on "The Hymns of Martin Luther" with the estimate that they are "stern and imposing monuments, more durable than brass, and upon them, if we have eyes to see, are carved memorials of a great soul and a great age." In considering "The Nature of the Resurrection Body of Christ" Dr. Samuel Hutchings aims to show that our Lord "rose in the same body that was laid in the tomb." The concluding article, by Professor G. Frederick Wright, is entitled "Professor Prestwich on Some Supposed New Evidence of the Deluge." In its critical, sociological, Semitic, and oriental notes, as well as in other editorial departments, this number of the *Bibliotheca* is most able.

IN the *Lutheran Quarterly* for October we find a full table of contents, as follows: 1. "Christian Worship—Its Spirit and Its Forms," by J. C. Koller, D.D.; 2. "The Confessional History of the General Synod," by Professor J. W. Richard, D.D.; 3. "Christ in Theology," by W. H. Dunbar, D.D.; 4. "Individualism, or To Every One His Way," by Hon. Thomas Hedge; 5. "Religious Fanaticism and the Death of Christ," by J. J. Young, D.D.; 6. "The Centrality of Christian Fellowship," by Rev. E. H. Delk; 7. "The Bible and its Expositors," by Professor L. A. Fox, D.D.; 8. "The New Testament Idea of Propitiation," by Professor A. G. Voigt, D.D.; 9. "Modern German Theology—Ritschlianism," by Chr. Jensen, D.D.

THE *London Quarterly* for October has: 1. "Robert Louis Stevenson;" 2. "The Destruction of the Mammoth, and the Great Ice Age;" 3. "Religious Life in Denmark;" 4. "Coleridge's Letters;" 5. "Tennyson's King Arthur;" 6. "Adam Smith;" 7. "Lessons from the Monuments;" 8. "Agrarian Reform." The first article is strongly eulogistic. The great Ice Age, says the second paper, "remains an unexplained marvel and a mystery to men of science." In Denmark, asserts the third article, "the old Lutheran faith and life are found in a purer form than in Luther's own country." Rationalism in its different forms "does not seem to have struck deep root in the soil." Among the foreign denominations there is included American Methodism. The letters of Coleridge, as the fourth article shows, help to explain how "so singular an amalgam of strength and weakness" exerted such an influence as "poet, critic, theologian, philosopher" upon his times. As to the Babylonian inscriptions, says the seventh article, when rightly read they "add fresh light and impart new luster to that word of God which liveth and abideth forever."

IN some of the Swiss cantons, says the opening article of the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for October, the head minister is known by the title of "antistes." The service of these officers at Zurich through three centuries is here traced by Professor J. I. Good, in an article entitled "The Antistes of Zurich." The late Professor E. C. Bissell writes elaborately of the "Origin and Composition of Genesis." The baccalaureate sermon delivered by President Patton at Princeton, in June, 1895, on "James McCosh" constitutes the third article. As a biography it is reasonably full; as a citation of an illustrious example of industry and usefulness it is inspiring to the new graduate. Professor B. B. Warfield follows with a discussion of "The Spirit of God in the Old Testament;" Professor Howard Osgood writes of "'Philosophers' and 'Higher Critics;'" and the Rev. S. C. Hodge considers "The Synoptic Problem." Eighty pages of valuable editorial discussions follow.

THE table of contents of the *Nineteenth Century* for October is as follows: 1. "The Gold Mining Madness in the City," by S. F. Van Oss; 2. "The Political Situation in Italy," by the Marchese de Viti de Marco; 3. "Ruskin as a Master of Prose," by Frederic Harrison; 4. "The Trafalgar Captains," by W. Laird Clowes; 5. "The Land of Frankincense and Myrrh," by J. Theodore Bent; 6. "A Medical View of the Miracles at Lourdes," by Dr. Berdoe; 7. "The New Spirit in History," by W. S. Lilly; 8. "Frederick Locker-Lampson," by Coulson Kernahan; 9. "In Germany—A Sketch," by the Duchess of Sutherland; 10. "The Closing of the Indian Mints," by Lord Brassey; 11. "The Religion of Humanity—A Reply to Mr. Frederic Harrison," by W. H. Mallock; 12. "The Religion of the Undergraduate," by the Rev. A. C. Deane; 13. "The Proper Pronunciation of Greek," by J. Gennadius; 14. "A Great University for London," by Lord Playfair; 15. "The Need for an Antarctic Expedition," by Clements R. Markham.

An attractive table of contents is found in the *Canadian Methodist Review* for September–October. In "The Psychology of Revivals" A. D. Watson, M.D., discusses the emotional manifestations in special religious services. The Rev. R. N. Burns writes of "The Kingdom of God;" and Dr. S. P. Rose, in "The Bible and the Newer Criticism," declares that the ultimate purpose of the Scripture, "to bring men into such a knowledge of Jesus Christ that they may live in him," is the sole test by which the Bible should be tried. An interesting biographical sketch by J. T. Pate, D.D., is entitled "Richard Williams, Missionary to the Patagonian Archipelago." Dr. James Henderson next discusses the question, "Has Modern Thought Disturbed the Foundation of Our Faith?" In "The Unwelcome (?) Child" Thomas Lindsay writes some wholesome words; while "Christianity in Everyday Life," by Rev. William Galbraith, is a plea for the incorporation of the Gospel in all social and national institutions.

Harper's Magazine for October has illustrated topographical and other articles on "Hindoo and Moslem," by E. L. Weeks; "Alone in China," by Julian Ralph; "Queen Victoria's Highland Home," by J. R. Hunter; "Three Gringos in Central America. Part II," by Richard Harding Davis; "Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc. Part VII," by Louis de Conte; and "The German Struggle for Liberty. Part IV," by Poultney Bigelow.——The *Presbyterian Quarterly* for October opens with an article by W. M. McPheeters, D.D., on "Dr. Briggs's Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch." Some of its other articles are "The World, in Ruin and Redemption," by H. B. Pratt, and "The Social and Civil Status of Woman," by Hon. W. M. Cox.——*Our Day* for October has among other matters, "Chicago Commons and its Summer School," by Max West; "George W. Childs—A Character Sketch;" "Some Thoughts on American Universities," by A. M. Fairbairn, D.D.; and "Origin of Chinese Outrages," by H. H. Van Meter.——Conspicuous among the special articles of the October *Review of Reviews* is the comprehensive paper by G. P. Morris on "Religious Journalism and Journalists." It is illustrated with numerous portraits, and in it Methodism does not go unhonored.——The *Gospel in All Lands* for October devotes particular attention to Germany, China, and Japan. It is admirably edited by Dr. E. R. Smith, and should command the enthusiastic support of the Church.——The October number of the *Columbus Theological Magazine* has: 1. "The Bible as a Means of Culture;" 2. "New Testament Woman;" 3. "A Short History of Pietism. Chapter VIII," by Rev. P. A. Peter; 4. "Negative Religious Tendencies," by Rev. E. Gerfen; 5. "Mirror of Pastors;" 6. "The Agrapha."——The *Haus und Herd* for October has attractive illustrated articles on "The Chattanooga and Chickamauga National Park" and "Moses, the Deliverer of Israel."——The *Preacher's Magazine* for October opens with a superior sermon by Dr. Charles Moinet, on "Unsuspected Faith." Among the other contributors are Mark Guy Pearse and Joseph Parker. Dr. W. E. Ketcham, the able editor, continues his "Notes on the International Sunday School Lessons." This magazine is in touch with the times.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch. By WILLIAM HENRY GREEN, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Oriental and Old Testament Literature in Princeton Theological Seminary. 8vo, pp. 184. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Dr. Green is known everywhere as a most able and accomplished protagonist in the ranks of conservative biblical scholarship against the unwarranted assumptions and audacious attacks of the destructive biblical critics. He does not denounce the higher criticism, which is an entirely lawful and necessary inquiry into the origin and character of the writings to which it is applied, seeking to ascertain the authors by whom, the time at which, the circumstances under which, and the design with which they were produced. He denounces only the perversion and abuse of such forms and methods of study. The purpose and scope of this volume are indicated by the author in his Preface, a part of which we here quote: "The higher criticism has been of late so associated with extravagant theorizing, and with insidious attacks upon the genuineness and credibility of the books of the Bible, that the very term has become an offense to serious minds. It has come to be considered one of the most dangerous forms of infidelity, and in its very nature hostile to revealed truth. And it must be confessed that in the hands of those who are unfriendly to religion it has proved a potent weapon in the interest of unbelief. Nor has the use made of it by those who, while claiming to be evangelical critics, accept and defend the revolutionary conclusions of the antisupernaturalists tended to remove the discredit into which it has fallen. . . . The genuineness and historical truth of the books of Moses have been strenuously impugned in the name of the higher criticism. It has been claimed as one of its most certain results, scientifically established, that they have been falsely ascribed to Moses, and were in reality produced at a much later period. It is affirmed that the history is by no means reliable, and merely records the uncertain and variant traditions of a post-Mosaic age, and that the laws are not those of Moses, but the growth of centuries after his time. All this is based on demonstrably false and sophistical reasoning, which rests on unfounded assumptions and employs weak and inconclusive arguments. It is the purpose of this volume to show, as briefly and compactly as possible, that the faith of all past ages in respect to the Pentateuch has not been mistaken. It is what it claims to be, and what it has always been believed to be. In the first chapter it is exhibited in its relation to the Old Testament as a whole, of which it is only the initial portion, but the basis or foundation upon which the entire superstructure reposes; or rather it contains the germs from which all that follows was developed. In the second the plan and contents of the Pentateuch are unfolded. It has one theme, which is consistently

adhered to, and which is treated with orderly arrangement and upon a carefully considered plan suggestive of a single author. In the third it is shown by a variety of arguments, both external and internal, that this author was Moses. The various forms of opposition to this conclusion are then outlined and separately considered. First, the weakness of the earlier objections from anachronisms and inconsistencies is shown. In the fourth chapter the divisive hypotheses, which have in succession been maintained in opposition to the unity of the Pentateuch, are reviewed and shown to be baseless, and the arguments urged in their support are refuted. In the fifth chapter the genuineness of the laws is defended against the development hypothesis. And in the sixth and last chapter these hypotheses are shown to be radically unbiblical. They are hostile alike to the truth of the Pentateuch and to the supernatural revelation which it contains." A passage taken from the last pages of this book will indicate with additional distinctness Dr. Green's position: "The development of critical hypotheses inimical to the genuineness and truth of the books of the Bible has from the beginning been in the hands of those who were antagonistic to supernatural religion, whose interest in the Bible was purely literary, and who refused to recognize its claims as an immediate and authoritative revelation from God. These hypotheses, which are largely speculative and conjectural, are to a great extent based upon and shaped by unproved assumptions of the falsity of positive scriptural statements. They are in acknowledged variance with the historical truth of much of the Bible, and require, as is freely confessed, the complete reconstruction of the sacred history. They require us to suppose that the course of events and the progress of divine revelation must throughout have been very different from the representations of the Bible. Within a very few years professedly evangelical men have ventured upon the hazardous experiment of attempting a compromise in this matter. They propose to accept these hypotheses in spite of their antibiblical character, in spite of their incompatibility with the historical truth of the Bible, in spite of their contravening its explicit statements, in spite of the grave questions which they raise respecting the fallibility of our Lord's teaching; and they expect to retain their Christian faith with only such modifications as these newly adopted hypotheses may require. They are now puzzling themselves over the problem of harmonizing Christ's sanction given to false views respecting the Old Testament with implicit faith in him as a divine teacher. And some of them in their perplexity over this enigma come perilously near impairing the truth of his claims. Would it not be wiser for them to revise their own ill-judged alliance with the enemies of evangelical truth, and inquire whether Christ's view of the Old Testament may not, after all, be the true view?" It will be seen that this book by Dr. Green differs from Dr. Rishell's volume, recently noticed in these pages, in the fact that the latter is a review of the field and a description of the parties and their positions, while the former is in addition a set argument for one particular party and position; and a strong argument it is, acceptable, undoubtedly, to the great majority of Christians.

The Christless Nations. A Series of Addresses on Christless Nations and Kindred Subjects Delivered at Syracuse University on the Graves Foundation, 1895. By Bishop J. M. THOBURN, D.D. 12mo, pp. 214. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $1.

Bishop Thoburn, who has passed by more than a decade his "missionary apprenticeship" of twenty-five years, has a large acquaintance with missionary matters and has studied missionary problems on the mission field. Hence, when he speaks on these themes the Church is glad to listen to what he has to say. The special topics of the six lectures embodied in the above-named book are as follows: "The Christless Nations," "Missionary Possibilities," "Woman in the Mission Field," "Missionary Polity," "New Testament Missions," and "Wayside Views." While all these addresses have excellent points, and no one of them is dull or dry, the second and fourth bring out most fully the lecturer's well-known characteristics of boundless enthusiasm, unquenchable faith, and courageous criticism. He believes that the resources of the Church, in reference to giving for missions, so far from being exhausted, have hardly been touched as yet. This is, no doubt, true. He also sees very clearly that an avowed and organized constituency of pledged missionary supporters, if they could be secured, would put the whole matter on an entirely different basis. But as to how this loyal, indefatigable band of collectors and donors can be secured the bishop seems to have no more light than the rest of us. We fear it is simply one part of that huge and immensely difficult problem (for which no patent solution has yet been found) of how to turn our vast aggregates of nominal Christians into real Christians. There are sharp reflections in the fourth lecture, on the shortcomings in the average home management of missionary societies in general, as they appear to active workers in the foreign field, especially to the "broad statesmanship and farseeing views" of our India bishop. "One of the most urgent needs of the hour is missionary statesmanship, and nowhere is this need more urgent than in the councils of those who manage the affairs of the great missionary societies of the present day. . . . The missionary world of the present day has crying need of statesmen." Of course, this sort of language can hardly be relished by those who consider themselves depreciated, but, if it be true, we know of no reason why it should not be spoken. Bishop Thoburn holds very positively that the societies and their secretaries are for the missionaries and their work, not *vice versâ;* and we think his contention cannot be overthrown. Bishop Thoburn has no sympathy whatever with the premillennial views of missions of which so much has lately been heard from Drs. Pierson, Simpson, and others. He says: "There can be no doubt that the sad fact confronts us that the evangelization of our world, so far from being nearly complete, has hardly passed its initial stage." Again he writes: "A nation is not reached when one or more men preach in a given place, nor does the mere proclamation of a message of truth constitute the Gospel so long as Christ is not made known to the people." Nor does fanaticism receive any sort

of countenance from the bishop, in spite of the very large place which hope, not to say imagination, plays in his outline of the future. "Faith," he well says, "should not ignore the ordinary laws of human intelligence." Too many very earnest people allow themselves to be seriously misled by neglecting the exercise of sanctified common sense. It is not wise, and it certainly is not prudent, to send out large parties of untried persons, sometimes married and sometimes single, with little or no culture, little or no experience of life, and with supreme devotion as the one towering virtue which is expected to hide a multitude of shortcomings. There is no real devotion whatever in deliberate folly; and some missionary expeditions have been so unwisely planned as to make it seem that wisdom had been thrown to the winds and devotion made a synonym for rashness or blind presumption." These words are none too strong to characterize some of the loudly heralded "faith" missions of modern days, in support of which deluded people are induced to give hundreds and even thousands of dollars that might be much better used in other ways. The salvation of the world will not be greatly furthered by these measures.

Atonement: The Fundamental Fact of Christianity. By NEWMAN HALL, LL.B., D.D. 12mo, pp. 159. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

Forty years ago, just at the beginning of his long pastorate in London, Dr. Hall published a sermon, entitled "Sacrifice, or, Pardon and Purity Through the Cross," in order to refute the views of the Rev. Frederic Maurice. Now, after more than fifty years' experience in preaching the Gospel, the distinguished pastor presents us with this little book, which places before us substantially the same doctrine as the sermon, and tells us that the years have only served to strengthen his conviction concerning its truth. In the first place, he distinguishes between the fact of the atonement and any theory that attempts to explain this fact. The fact of atonement he holds to be incontrovertible; but any theory of atonement is likely to be faulty and incomplete, partaking of the nature of all human knowledge; for the mystery of the atonement is as deep as is the mystery of God himself. "As we may profit by the solar ray without knowing the nature of light, and be nourished by food while ignorant of the process of digestion, so multitudes are saved through the atonement who cannot explain it." Yet, if "the angels desire to look into" these things, should not we who are the subjects of redemption endeavor to discover some of the treasures of wisdom and knowledge contained therein? In theology, as in natural science, "we know in part;" nevertheless, we know, and as far as we have proceeded we feel that we stand upon the solid rock. By the fact of the atonement our author means that through the life and death of Jesus, and his ever-living intercession in heaven, men are saved from the guilt and power of sin and are prepared for the life of glory. He considers this the essential fact of Christianity. "On this as its strong foundation stands the Church of God. We build on sand if we build elsewhere." "This is the central truth, the denial of which throws the whole fabric of spiritual truth into disinte-

gration and collapse. It sustains the functions of the heart to every other verity in the Christian scheme, giving to it life and power. It is the sun in the heavens of revelation, around which other doctrines revolve, and from which they derive their light." In a few brief sentences Dr. Hall gives us the essence of his theory: "Christ perfectly obeyed the law broken by men, and echoed back from humanity God's thoughts respecting sin and holiness. He offered as our representative a perfect obedience, so that the Father, beholding him as the Son of man, and for men, could say, 'I am well pleased.' He could not as divine, nor as a perfect man, offer the atonement of *remorse;* for 'he knew no sin.' But he did suffer on our behalf many of the consequences of sin—physical infirmities, social wrongs, the malignity of the wicked, mental anguish, spiritual trials; and 'became obedient unto death.' Though sinless, he stood in the place of sinners, confessing their guilt; and thus his soul was made an 'offering for sin.'" And again he says: "All explanations of the atonement have partial truth; Christ did die as a martyr; as an example; as a pattern of self-surrender; to show sympathy; as our representative; to reveal the love of God; to satisfy the claims of government. The atonement fulfills all these purposes; but each is not all, and all are defective without this—'He bare our sins in his own body on the tree.'" Our author objects to the "moral influence theory" as incomplete and one-sided. According to this God might have forgiven the sinner as well without the sacrifice of Christ as with it, provided only the sinful disposition be changed. But the work of salvation is twofold; there are two aspects from which we must view it, the human and the divine. The death of Christ not only made it possible for man to repent and exercise faith, but also removed the obstacles on the divine side and enabled God to show his love, to pardon and cleanse the sinner. What these obstacles were we may but faintly discern; but, whatever they were, we believe that they were forever removed by the life and death of Jesus. Dr. Hall rejects the heathenish notion that the sufferings of Christ appeased the wrath of God; he holds also that it is improper to say that Christ was punished for our sins. Punishment implies guilt in him who suffers it and displeasure in him who inflicts it. An innocent person, therefore, cannot be said to be punished for a guilty one. The death of Christ was substituted for our bearing the penalty of sin, answering all the purposes for which punishment might have been inflicted, and with additional advantages which punishment could not have secured. Punishment would have honored the law but destroyed the sinner; atonement does more honor to the law and saves the sinner. "It was not the being crushed by a wheel which was still to go on crushing those who oppose men's wickedness, but it was the arresting of the wheel of retributive justice which otherwise would destroy sinners. His death was his triumph over the world's evil. It was not the triumph of a whirling wheel. He was not conflicting with a physical or social law and paying the penalty of his daring. He was magnifying the moral law and gaining the eternal rewards of obedience unto death. He was not help-

less in the embraces of an infernal machine. His cross was the weapon of his warfare and the means of his victory." Therefore St. Paul glorified in the cross. "Shall we be ashamed of the battlefield where such a victory was won and such immortal benefits obtained? Were Spartans ashamed of Thermopylæ, or Athenians of Marathon, or Scots of Bannockburn, and shall those redeemed from the debasing tyranny of sin be ashamed of the cross? It is the conqueror's chariot, it is the Redeemer's throne. The grave of the Crucified is the gateway of glory; the death on the cross is the anthem of the heavenly host." In support of his doctrine Dr. Hall appeals to the Old Testament sacrifices and to all the prophets of the old covenant; he cites the testimony of John the Baptist and the very words of Jesus; he summons to the witness stand each of the apostles in turn. And finally, to add yet more to the magnificence of this vast array of witnesses, he makes his appeal to the experience of believers in all ages, and shows that this doctrine has been written not merely with pen and ink, but also in the life history of millions of redeemed ones, of whom by far the greater part already chant the song within the veil, "Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honor, and glory, and blessing."

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

My Literary Passions. By W. D. HOWELLS. 12mo, pp. 261. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.50.

"What a dear, delightful, garrulous old egotist he is!" was said by one man to another concerning an elderly person of eminence to whom both had just listened. It may be possible to read Mr. Howells's book through without disgust or weariness, but we wonder whether it was really worth while for him to set down all the trivialities of personal experience which make up so much of this volume, or for the publishers to preserve them in so many pages of print. So experienced and successful a publishing house must know its public, must know what the market will take, and by printing virtually says, "This is what people want and will pay for." If they are right, then we suppose Mr. Howells must have become so important a personage that, like the royal family, his smallest doings are worthy of record in a court bulletin or a duodecimo. But while this book is frankly egotistical it would not be readable or endurable if its interest were limited to Mr. Howells's affairs and experiences; his life and personality are only the strings on which a great many persons, books, and other things are strung together and brought brightly into view. Nevertheless, his volume belongs to light literature, very light. His successes, he is reported to have said, depend upon the verdict of women. It may be that there are women enough who are interested in the small confessions and self-revealings of a popular author to make an appreciative and approving audience for *My Literary Passions.* It may even be that some profit, encouragement, and help may be derived from this minutely detailed narrative of literary effort

and experience by some who are wistfully looking or uncertainly struggling in the direction of literary life. Hints and heartenings flash abroad by the telling of personal experience, whether religious, literary, commercial, social, or whatever else. In this dull, sordid world, if a man has lived intensely or eventfully, if he has really had passions, noble ones, if he has aspired and striven strenuously and achieved something, probably no harm can come of his giving the world glimpses of his quick and quivering experience here and there. And assuredly it is lawful for an author, or anybody else, who has been helped by others, to name them, describe how they did it, and acknowledge his debt. Mr. Howells's grandfather was a Friend who married out of meeting and became a perfervid Methodist. His father failing to get himself converted at the camp meetings by all the prayers that were offered for and around him—that is the way in which our author puts it—was given up as a mysteriously difficult case, got discouraged himself, and drifted off into Swedenborgianism, where he stayed all his days. The father was editor of a country paper in a little southern Ohio town, and had a passion for poetry. Did he make poetry of his religion, and did this make him a Swedenborgian? Some fine, sweet, imaginative, trustful, tender, sentimental natures have been Swedenborgians. From "The Bookcase at Home" of his boyhood on to Tolstoy, Howells mentions, one would think, about all the authors who have fashioned and colored him. He "passed through a paroxysm of Alexander Smith, a poet deeply unknown to the present generation, but then acclaimed immortal by all the critics and put with Shakespeare, who must be a good deal astonished from time to time in his Elysian quiet by the companionship thrust upon him." He says: "I read this now dead and gone immortal with ecstasy unspeakable; I raved of him by day and dreamed of him at night; I got great lengths of his 'Life-Drama' by heart, and I can still repeat several gorgeous passages of it." "The reading world is very susceptible of such lunacies, and all that can be said is that at that period it was time for criticism to go mad over a poet who was neither better nor worse than many another third-rate poet apotheosized before and since." Mr. Howells is of opinion that the two poets of our day "who preeminently voiced their generation were Tennyson and Longfellow; though Browning, like Emerson, is probably now more modern than either;" but he says that Heinrich Heine dominated him longer than any one author that he has known. "I knew the ugliness of Heine's nature, his revengefulness, malice, cruelty, treachery, and uncleanness; and yet he was supremely charming among the poets I have read." Of one of his Russian favorites he says: "When I remembered the deliberate and impertinent moralizing of Thackeray, the clumsy exegesis of George Eliot, the knowing nods and winks of Charles Reade, the stage carpentering and lime lighting of Dickens, even the fine and important analysis of Hawthorne, it was with a joyful astonishment that I realized the great art of Tourguenief." "The Ring and the Book" is one of his literary passions, although he is not a devotee of Browning. Of it he says: "I was nearly home from Italy when that poem appeared, and whether or

not it was because it took me so with the old enchantment of that land I gave my heart promptly to it. Of course, there are terrible *longueurs* in it, and you do get tired of the same story told over and over from the different points of view; and yet it is such a great story, and unfolded with such a magnificent breadth and noble fullness, that one who blames it lightly blames himself heavily. There are certain books of it—Caponsacchi's story, Pompilia's story, and Count Guido's story—that I think ought to rank with the greatest poetry ever written, and that have a direct, dramatic expression of the fact and character which is without rival. There is a noble and lofty pathos in the close of Caponsacchi's statement, an artless and manly break from his self-control throughout, that seems to me the last possible effect in its kind; and Pompilia's story holds all of womanhood in it, the purity, the passion, the tenderness, the helplessness. . . . Yes, as I think it over, 'The Ring and the Book' appears to me one of the few great poems whose splendor can never suffer lasting eclipse, however it may presently have fallen into abeyance. If it had come down to us from some elder time . . . it would be ranked where it belongs, with the great epics." We are not much pleased with Mr. Howells's confession that Zola has been one of his "great literary passions, almost as great as Flaubert, and greater than Daudet or Maupassant," although this prepares us for the last chapter, which informs us that the noblest of all his enthusiasms is his "devotion for the writings of Lyof Tolstoy." Hear him: "Tolstoy gave me heart to hope that the world may yet be made over in the image of Him who died for it, when all Cæsar's things shall be finally rendered unto Cæsar, and men shall come into their own, into the right to labor and the right to enjoy the fruits of their labor, each one master of himself and servant of every other." "As I read his different ethical books, *What to Do*, *My Confession*, and *My Religion*, I recognized their truth with a rapture such as I have known in no other reading, and I rendered them my allegiance, heart and soul. They have it yet, and I believe they will have it while I live." "There was but one life ever lived upon the earth which was without failure, and that was Christ's, whose erring and stumbling follower Tolstoy is. There is no other example, no other ideal, and the chief use of Tolstoy is to enforce this fact in our age, after nineteen centuries of hopeless endeavor to substitute ceremony for character and the creed for the life." "I do not believe that in the whole course of my reading, and not even in the early moment of my literary enthusiasms, I have known such utter satisfaction in any writer, and this supreme joy has come to me at a time of life when new friendships, not to say new passions, are rare and reluctant. . . . I believe if I had not turned the corner of my fiftieth year when I first knew Tolstoy I should not have been able to know him as fully as I did. He has been to me that final consciousness which he speaks of so wisely in his essay on Life. . . . It is with the wish to offer the greatest homage . . . which any man can pay to another that I close this record with the name of Lyof Tolstoy." So the last heard of Mr. Howells is that he is submerged in Tolstoy without hope or desire for resuscitation. One takes some risk in criticising Mr.

Howells's work, for he has said severe things about the critics: "The critic exists because the author first existed. If books failed to appear, the critic must disappear like the poor aphis or the lowly caterpillar in the absence of vegetation." The critic, it seems, is nothing but a parasite, an insect, a worm. But how is it that Mr. Howells says this? Is not he himself a critic? For one great thing he is entitled to praise: his heart and his pages are pure. He has helped and not harmed his "fellow-heirs of this small island, life."

The Elements of Ethics. By JAMES A. HYSLOP, Ph.D., Instructor in Ethics, Columbia College. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 12mo, pp. 470. Price, cloth, $2.50.

We revert to this book for the purpose of adding some things not previously printed. Dr. Hyslop considers conscience to be a synthesis of various functions of the mind. This theory of a composite conscience helps the author to an explanation of the possible origin of conscience which he rather suggests than lays down. The beginnings of the *manifestations* of conscience *may* have been due to evolutional or developmental experience. Intellect, desire, will, in conflict with realities of experience, effected their complex action, or alliance in action, at first incidentally, and repeated incidents passed on into habit and heredity consolidated them. This theory is rather implicit, not explicit, in the concluding pages of the chapter on the origin of conscience. If we understand the author, this phenomenal origin is the only origin to be sought. A simpler theory of the nature of conscience would have excluded any development hypothesis, and our author seems unwilling to antagonize at all points the evolutionist theory. He is, however, very emphatic in his statements that ethical theory is not at all modified by evolution doctrine. This favorite dogma of so many ethical tyros and sages is repudiated with more warmth than any other criticised theory. We set down a few of these strong expressions: "There is a widespread feeling . . . that the whole problem of morality is and must be transformed by the conception of development. This thesis we shall absolutely deny." "The basis of morality remains the same whether evolution be true or not." "The whole question of what constitutes morality and its grounds and validity remains absolutely untouched by the method of development." "All the noise made about its [evolution's] revolutionizing the subject is but sound and fury, signifying nothing, and conceals a most astonishing ignorance behind the mask of knowledge." We must not omit to say that in this chapter Dr. Hyslop displays rare powers of analysis and of dialectic, and is sometimes more happy in destroying other men's graven images than in building his own altar. But this last remark must not be misconstrued as criticism; for our author is not here to dogmatize, but rather to clear away the misconception of other men who dogmatize in place of investigating. There is no other extant book on ethical theory which can compete with this one in breadth of illumination. If irrelevant questions are only handled as specimens, not settled once for all, the main questions are thoroughly lit up, and the categorical imperative, the

supremacy of moral obligation, the majesty of duty, survive the analysis and glow with new fire under the brilliant dialectics of the author. We may also include in this review a brief notice of a theory which we cannot unhesitatingly accept. The key to the problem of punishment Dr. Hyslop finds in the doctrine that men are responsible, but not *equally* responsible. Older schools of thinking assumed equality of responsibility, which was an error. Determinists with their denial of freedom—and therefore of all responsibility—fall into a worse error in teaching that punishment should aim at correction; for on their theory no correction is possible. Corrective punishment logically depends on freedom. The unequal responsibility results from the causes—heredity and education—pleaded for by determinists; but these causes do not destroy freedom and responsibility. This doctrine of inequality is attractive in its theoretical form, and it loses nothing of this charm for the human reader in the author's handling of it. But as a practical matter, with a case to be decided by a court, it suggests insuperable objections. Of course these may be overcome by a legal settlement of the region of doubt—by declaring all criminals imperfectly responsible, and therefore to be subjected to indefinite periods of correction. There might be less hesitation in accepting this doctrine, if experience did not seem to deny success to our methods of correction. Dr. Hyslop has a neat way of accepting determinist conclusions from the premises of freedom. We are disposed to suggest, in reply to his theory of inequality, that the causes alleged *may break down all freedom* as probably as they may impair it. Or, to employ a simple figure, one man may have less light than another and yet may have enough. He may be more liable to temptation and yet have the power to resist temptation. And we see not why corrective punishment may not consist with complete responsibility. Just why heredity and environment should seem merely to weaken freedom is not at all clear anywhere except at the end of Dr. Hyslop's enthymemes. Plain old judicial language such as, "Did the prisoner know he was doing wrong, and had he the power not to do wrong?" may be answered affirmatively in any case of a culprit not insane. If we refine upon the matter in the interest of humanitarianism, we ought not to play fast and loose with responsibility. If it is impaired it may be destroyed; if it is destroyed a new kind of asylums should take the place of our prisons. In fine, it seems to us that Dr. Hyslop's vindication of freedom is of small use in the matter of penology. Nor are we quite sure that he has not in this chapter surrendered what he proved in the preceding one—theoretical freedom. We have to go back a long way in our reading to recall a writer so richly gifted in dialectic as our author is. Like the schoolmen, he can prove anything he likes; and he can do it more neatly and conclusively than any sophist of them all. We greatly admire this dialectical ability as it is employed in this book. If we wanted any theory picked to pieces and reduced to impalpableness, we should, if possible, seek the services of Dr. Hyslop. The misfortune remains, however, in a suspicion that our author might as easily have reached opposite conclusions in some cases. And we should

hesitate to "indorse for" some theories of this book, because the premises may yield, in his future handling of them, conclusions of which we have not so much as a scent of suspicion. The book is stiff but delightful reading, and cannot fail to prove stimulating to the man who enjoys it. But we are wary when its conclusions are modestly set down, especially when they land us in compromises such as lurk in unequal freedom.

The Complete Poetic and Dramatic Works of Robert Browning. Cambridge Edition. Crown 8vo, pp. 1033. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, gilt top, $3.

An unsurpassed triumph in bookmaking; the apparently impossible has been done. In some editions the works of Browning fill twenty volumes; here we have them all in one well-made and manageable volume, which can be held easily in the hand. In addition to the poems and dramas it includes a biographical sketch of Browning, his essay on Shelley, explanatory notes, an index of titles, and another of first lines. With this one volume, and George Willis Cooke's *Guidebook to Browning*, published by the same house, the student is completely equipped for the study of the most profound and powerful of modern poets; though if one chooses he may add the authorized life of the poet by Mrs. Orr, issued also by Houghton, Mifflin & Co. We say again, this volume is every way a marvel of bookmaking. In one tenth the compass, for one tenth the price, it gives us the whole of Browning in handsome, durable, and portable form. It is a great service to the public and a great achievement by the firm who publish it. We add here a few suggestions for the study of Browning. Much depends on how that study is begun. If one begins with "Paracelsus," or "Sordello," or "Fifine at the Fair" he will not be likely to pursue his study far. But let a *minister* begin with "Saul," and go on with "Rabbi Ben Ezra," and "A Death in the Desert," and "An Epistle, containing the Strange Medical Experience of Karshish, the Arab Physician," and "Caliban upon Setebos; or, Natural Theology in the Island," and "Prospice," and "The Grammarian's Funeral," and "La Saisiaz," and "Christmas Eve," and "Easter Day." And, speaking generally, let anybody begin with "Evelyn Hope," and "Hervé Riel," and "The Flight of the Duchess," and "One Word More," and "By the Fireside;" and then go on with "The Lost Leader," and "The Patriot," and "Instans Tyrannus," and "Echetlos," and "Halbert and Hob," and "Abt Vogler," and "Clive," and "Waring," and "Muléykeh." After this read anywhere in "Dramatic Lyrics," or "Dramatic Romances," or "Men and Women," or "Dramatis Personæ." Later, try "Pippa Passes," and "Balaustion's Adventure," and "A Blot in the 'Scutcheon," and "Colombe's Birthday," and "Aristophanes' Apology," and "The Agamemnon of Æschylus." At last read that mighty work, "The Ring and the Book," or anything else you please. And, finding out what interests you most, go back to it and read it, study it, again and again. Persevere. Your intellectual muscles will expand. Your spiritual coasts will be enlarged. Your joy in God and in his world will be increased.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850. By JAMES FORD RHODES. Vol. iii, 1860-1862. 8vo, pp. 659. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $2.50.

Bernardo de Brito, when he began his *Monarchia Lusitana*, or "History of the Portuguese Monarchy," started, on what is obviously the only thorough and philosophic system of writing history, with the very beginning of things—the creation of the world which was to be the scene of his drama. Now, it is certain that without the creation there could have been no history of Portugal. It is equally true that any history supposes the existence of some previous history, to understand which is necessary in interpreting with absolute fidelity the later period; and there can be no doubt that the development of Portuguese institutions and national life in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had a vital, if somewhat remote, connection with events in patriarchal and pagan ages. But it detracts something from the value of De Brito's work as an adequate commentary on Portuguese affairs that his life did not prove long enough to enable him to bring it down to a period when there existed any Portuguese monarchy at all. Mr. Rhodes is wiser from a practical standpoint, if not so logical. With the lesson of Bancroft's example before him, he begins at once with the period which he especially desires to portray. Nor was it necessary for him to trace the progress of our government during the earlier half of the century. This has already been done, in whole or in part, by such competent scholars as Schouler, Adams, and MacMaster. The period he covers is, indeed, "within the memory of men still living"—a condition not often favorable to a calm and unprejudiced narrative. Yet probably in no country has there ever been a period, so embittered with strife, of which it was possible at the distance of a single generation to formulate judgments more fair and dispassionate, more sober and historic. The great actors in the events of a third of a century ago have left the stage. The old bone of contention has been removed, sectional hatred has largely subsided, party allegiance has been greatly weakened. There has been since the war a vast expansion of wealth and population. Great commonwealths not existing then now constitute factors in our political affairs. New conditions confront us, new problems are demanding solution. And so Mr. Rhodes can write this able volume and lay before us a broad and mainly impartial view of those modern times that tried men's souls. The first chapter, constituting Chapter XII of the entire work, is a review of material, economic, and social conditions during the years included in the two preceding volumes. He carries us back to a time when the quickest transatlantic voyage lasted ten days, when our newspapers received no dispatches from Europe except by mail, when Mr. Emerson, on one of his lecturing tours in 1851, arrived at Pittsburg "after a very tedious and disagreeable journey from Philadelphia, by railway and canal, with little food and less sleep, two nights being spent on the railcars, and the third on the floor of a canal boat." The author does not hesitate, on occasion, to discard some of the traditional stateliness of history,

without, in our opinion, sacrificing much real dignity thereby. Perhaps the means we enjoy for greater rapidity and convenience in locomotion has exerted an unconscious influence on his style. We note his use not seldom of the first person singular. He also ventures upon some discussions not usually included within the functions of historical composition in its narrower sense, though helpful to an understanding of causes underlying certain events and conditions. In this same first chapter he devotes several pages to a concise exposition of the principles of free trade. He says, for instance: "As the tendency of protective legislation is to make manufacturers look to a paternal government for help, when they ought to rely on their own efforts, so also does it lead statesmen to attribute to their legislation results due mainly to other causes." And he cites the "magnificent development of the iron industry" as caused, not by legislation, but by "the cheapening of pig iron by improvements in the construction of the blast furnace, by the use of better fuel and less of the better fuel per ton of metal, by a study of effects brought about by a mechanical mixture of different ores, and by the introduction of chemical analysis in every stage of operation; by the practical application of the Bessemer process and the substitution of steel for iron; and by economy of work and the use of improved machinery in every department of manufacture." But in what measure protective legislation afforded an opportunity for the development and practical application of these factors in successful iron manufacture, in the face of bitter competition and cheaper production in foreign lands, is another question. The panic of 1857 is attributed to "the expansion of credit, induced by the rapid building of new railroads and by the new supply of gold from California." "Except in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, there was little or no bribery in the legislatures of the States." "Municipal rottenness already existed in New York, and perhaps in some other eastern cities. . . . The condition of New York may have been as bad as it is to-day; but the general complaint, now heard in almost every city having a population of more than two hundred thousand, of bribery, jobbing, and misused funds, is not a feature of the decade of 1850–60. . . . Outside of three or four of the largest eastern cities the direct use of money to buy voters was substantially unknown." The following is hygienically valuable, if not historically important: "Those who argue that Americans labor too much do not give a proper direction to their well-meant counsel. Let the doctrine of more rational and better prepared food, of more active exercise in the open air, be preached. . . . What is called overwork is frequently but under-oxygenation." No one in those times "walked when he could ride." "Athletics were unknown." "The use of the frying pan in the West and South pointed well the quaint remark that 'God sends meat and the devil sends cooks.'" "The hearty English salutation of 'Good morning' had given way to an inquiry about one's health, . . . requiring an answer about one's physical feelings and condition." Chapter XIII deals with affairs in South Carolina, from Lincoln's election to the dispatch of the *Star of the West* to the relief of Fort Sumter. "If anyone is inclined to

doubt that there is other than a single cause for secession and the war that ensued, if he feel himself almost persuaded by the earnest and pathetic statements of Southern writers since the war, who naturally have sought to place the four years' devotion and heroism of the South on a higher basis than that of a mighty effort to conserve an institution condemned alike by Christianity and by ethics, let him read the speeches and newspaper articles of the early days of the secession movement in South Carolina. It cannot be denied that the South Carolinians looked the matter squarely in the face and that sincerity characterized their utterances." When "the palmetto and lone star flag was stretched across the street from an upper window of the Charleston *Mercury* office" it was hailed "with cheers and expressions of passionate attachment;" but "there was anxiety for the future, and on the whole the feeling was stern and deep, as befitted an Anglo-Saxon community on the eve of revolution." Of Buchanan Mr. Rhodes says: "It was a pregnant opportunity for an executive gifted with singleness of purpose, a dauntless temper of mind, and a wisdom to guide his valor to act in safety. . . . Vacillating and obstinate by turns, he floundered about in a sea of perplexity, throwing away chance after chance, and, though not wanting in good intentions and sincere patriotism, he laid himself open to the undisguised contempt of all sections and all parties." Yet "from an oft-repeated Northern charge that he was actuated by treachery to his own section he has been fully absolved." "Of all our Presidents, with perhaps a single exception, Buchanan made the most miserable failure." "That Buchanan deserves historical censure for not having pursued the Jacksonian policy seems to me beyond question." From the remainder of the book our space allows but one or two brief quotations. Of the bombardment of Sumter he says: "In the gray of the morning, when the roar of the cannon was heard, the city poured out its people. They thronged to the wharves and the Battery. On no gala occasion had the reporter seen so many ladies on this favorite promenade as now turned out to witness the opening scene of the great tragedy of the civil war." We could extend our quotations almost indefinitely, but must close with the author's estimate of McClellan: "Personally courageous himself, he had great fear for his army, and was full of apprehension that his movements would not be attended with success." "Could the Northern people have known him as well as we now do, through the publication of his private correspondence, they would have been amazed and their confidence shaken. Rapid advancement and hero worship had swollen him up with conceit." He magnified "Johnston's force of 41,000 into one of 150,000." "Had Johnston been in McClellan's place, we may be reasonably certain that a battle in Virginia perhaps as momentous in its results as Gettysburg would have been fought before Christmas Day of 1861. . . . But McClellan dallied with opportunity, seeing phantoms in the shape of an immense army before him and powerful enemies behind him." President Lincoln remarked, in January, 1862, "If General McClellan does not want to use the army I would like to borrow it, provided I could see how it could be made to do something." In February

"McClellan had an army three times as large as Johnston's." "Had McClellan advanced February 22 a cheap victory awaited him." "It is certain that if the Grant of Donelson had been in command he would have fought Johnston's army and beaten it." At the close of the volume a single page describes the passage of Forts St. Philip and Jackson and the capture of New Orleans in April, 1862. This immediately follows a ten-page discussion of Shiloh. Does the discrepancy imply that the relative importance of the two events is in the same proportion? But we must stop. We commend the work cordially. It is the best, the only history, in the true sense, of the secession and rebellion period. It is able, scholarly, and essentially just, and the author's statements are fortified by ample references to authorities. A welcome feature is the insertion of maps. We especially mention the beautiful two-page colored map of the battlefield of Bull Run. As usual, the imprint of the publishers on the title-page is a guarantee of faithfulness in typographical matters.

History of Religion. A Sketch of Primitive Religious Beliefs and Practices, and of the Origin and Character of the Great Systems. By ALLAN MENZIES, D.D., Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of St. Andrews. 12mo, pp. 438. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $1.50.

To give a general idea of comparative religion is the purpose of this book. It deals with the principal religions of mankind with a desire to render a service both to Christian faith and to the science of religion. It is a comprehensive and concise review of its great subject, suitable for a text-book or a guide to personal study. It is a calm, clear presentation of the history of human beliefs, in cool scientific temper, without one poetic touch or imaginative illumination or throb of feeling; giving the history of religion as a botanist might describe the evolution of plant life. It has no more gushing of sentiment than is customary in a chemical laboratory; no more display of emotion than attends the field practice of a class in surveying. Yet all the facts are handled with sober respect and a due sense of their sacred significance. Nowhere is there a trace of sneer or scorn at any cherished reverence of any human soul, however dark and crude and ignorant. The austerity of science never seems so grim as when it deals with the things most dear to the heart. Yet the study of practical anatomy is no disrespect to the body or the life of man. The author says at the beginning of his chapter on Christianity: "A view of our own religion, written not from the standpoint of the faith and love we feel toward it, but of scientific accuracy, must appear to many Christians to be cold and meager." This feeling we ourselves have had in reading Dr. Menzies's book; but then we have also marveled many times at the extraordinary composure of the style of the four evangelists, especially at the calmness of the New Testament narratives which tell of the crisis of the ages, the supreme tragedy of history in the miraculous life, the trial, the death, the resurrection and ascension of Jesus Christ. The writing there is amazingly unemotional. The exclamations and expletives of feeling are absent. The bare concise history is given without rage or heat or tears or astonishment or wailing on the writer's part, and

left to produce its own effect without note or comment; not one hysterical expression, not so much as a sob, but a statuesque calmness, a placidity almost scientific in the narrator. This is well, because, for one thing, the calm, cool style of the evangelists forbids that anyone should say that these narratives were written by excited men with heated imaginations, carried away by their feelings, the clearness of their intellectual perceptions dimmed by emotional mists. Professor Menzies defines religion as "the worship of unseen powers from a sense of need." He says that religion and civilization advance together. His book is divided into five parts. The first treats of the religion of the early world, its worship, beliefs, and practices; the second, of the isolated national religions of Babylon and Assyria, of China, and of ancient Egypt; the third, of the Semitic group, including the Canaanites and Phœnicians, Israel and Islam; the fourth, the Aryan groups, the religions of the Teutons, the Greeks, and the Romans, the religions of India and Persia; while part fifth has for its title "Universal Religion," and deals with Christianity. A good index closes the book. The author finds psychological necessity to be the primary basis of religion in the human mind. We would judge every book of this kind by the spirit it manifests toward Christianity and the place it gives it in the religious history of our race; and this most critical question is decided favorably when we find the author's historic research, which marches in measured step with scientific steadiness, bringing all things to the conclusion that Christianity is the supreme, universal, and ultimate religion. He says: "We have indicated the chief points which in a scientific comparison of Christianity with other religions appear to constitute its distinctive character; and we have sought to make our statement such as the reasonable adherents of other religions will feel to be warranted. The points are these: Christianity is a religion of freedom, it is a system of inner inspiration more than of external law or system, it is embodied in the living person of its Founder, in which alone it can be truly seen; and the Founder is one who is living himself in the relation to God to which he calls men to come, and feels himself called and sent to be the Saviour of men." We quote disconnectedly a few statements from the closing parts of the volume: "It was the task of the apostle Paul to work out the theory of the universalism of Christianity." "Paul was the first great theologian of the Church." Any new truth or statement thereof, as, for example, Christianity, "inevitably seeks to establish itself as scientifically true, and with the aid of the ruling philosophical tendency of the day clothes itself in a view of the universe and in a creed." "In each of the countries to which it came Christianity adopted what it could of the religion formerly existing there." "So great is the variety of the religions of Europe, not to mention that of the negroes or the Shakers in America, that many have doubted whether they ought all to be considered as branches of one faith, or whether they would not more fitly be regarded as so many national religions which have all alike connected themselves with Christianity." Christianity "is destined to become the faith of all mankind." It "has a message to which men become always

more willing to respond as they rise in the scale of civilization." "In every land where Christianity prevails an influence connected with religion is at work, which makes for the emancipation and elevation of the human person and for the awakening of the manifold energies of human nature." This is "the immediate and native tendency of the religion of Jesus; it opens the prison doors to them that are bound; it communicates by its inner encouragement an energy which makes the infirm forget their weaknesses; it fills the heart with hope and opens up new views of what man can do and can become. It is this which makes it the one truly universal religion." "With growing experience the world becomes more assured that the simplest and broadest religion ever preached upon this earth is also the best and the truest, and that in maintaining Christianity as at first preached, and applying it in every needed direction, lies the hope of the future of mankind."

MISCELLANEOUS.

Christ and His Friends. A Series of Revival Sermons. By Rev. LOUIS ALBERT BANKS, D.D., Pastor Hanson Place Methodist Episcopal Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., Author of *The People's Christ*, etc. 12mo, pp. 382. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Revival sermons, like those included in this volume, have their peculiar characteristics and are to be measured by their own standards. Some of their distinctive features should be large emphasis of the sinfulness of sin, earnest portrayal of the office work of Christ as a Redeemer, constant directness of appeal, and warm exhortation to immediate action. All of these characteristics, with others we have not mentioned, are found in the discourses of Dr. Banks now under consideration. They were delivered in a series of revival meetings held in his present pastorate during the last winter, and on their face have all the evidences of adaptability to the purpose for which they were designed. Not their least apparent merit, as the discourses now appear in print, is the speaker's employment of frequent and fervid illustrations to reach the hearts of his listeners. We can only emphasize his wish that in their present publication these discourses "may bring comfort and inspiration to the friends of Christ wherever they may go." Dr. Banks is a fertile and fluent preacher, from whose study volumes of living sermons come in swift succession.

The Imperfect Angel, and Other Sermons. By THOMAS G. SELBY. Crown 8vo, pp. 281. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, 90 cents.
The Lesson of a Dilemma, and Other Sermons. By THOMAS G. SELBY. Crown 8vo, pp. 400. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Volumes of sermons come from the English and American press in a flood, much of which is "stale, flat, and unprofitable," or flimsy and frothy. Not of that description are the volumes here noticed. A competent judge and critic says that Selby is a preacher, a philosopher, and a poet. The author of these sermons is a gifted English Wesleyan of high repute. A strong desire to attract attention to them prompts this notice.

Dr. Marcus Dods spoke justly and discreetly when he said: "Who Mr. Selby is we do not know, but if he has been preaching such sermons as these for many years he is clearly guilty of hiding a very brilliant light under a bushel. No sermons we have recently met with strike us as being so fresh in thought, and certainly none are so felicitous in illustration. He is never vague, never sentimental, never effusive, but from end to end his sermons are alive with imagination and sense." They are pertinent and powerful for the life of to-day.

The Baptism with the Holy Spirit. By R. A. TORREY, Author of *How to Bring Men to Christ*, etc. 12mo, pp. 67. New York: F. H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

In this little handbook the author's personal baptism with the Spirit is the basis of his dogmatic teaching. Besides other kindred matters he writes of the nature of the baptism, its necessity and possibility, and the method of obtaining it. That the baptism is for service rather than for cleansing is a striking position which he takes. We briefly quote: "There is a line of teaching, put forward by a very earnest but mistaken body of people, that has brought the whole doctrine of the baptism with the Holy Spirit into disrepute. . . . Not a line of Scripture can be adduced to show that the baptism with the Holy Spirit is the eradication of the sinful nature. . . . The baptism with the Holy Spirit is not for the purpose of cleansing from sin, but for the purpose of empowering for service." Such a sentiment will be voted nothing short of heresy, as judged by the standards which generally obtain. Yet there is much in this little treatise which is true, sweet, and winsome.

The Parliamentarian; or, Parliamentary Law Condensed. By Rev. T. B. NEELY, D.D., LL.D., Author of *Young Workers in the Church*, etc. 16mo, pp. 90. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, 40 cents.

This compilation carries its abundant credentials. Dr. Neely has long been recognized as a master in the department of parliamentary law. To say that the present manual is written with his usual clearness and force is to give it all necessary recommendation. Young people in their various literary organizations and "members of ordinary societies" will find it a reliable guide; and for their use it has been especially prepared by the author.

History of the Second International Conference of the Epworth Leagues. 8vo, pp. 152. Chattanooga, Tenn.: The Times Printing Co. Price, paper, 50 cents.

The Epworth Leagues of the Canadian Methodist Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, met in a great convention at Chattanooga, Tenn., on the 26th, 27th, and 28th of last June. This handsome pamphlet contains a full account of all the exercises, with reports of all sermons and addresses which were delivered. Our own Church reports a league membership of over one million, twenty-five hundred new chapters having been organized last year. It is a marvelous movement now and promises greater things for the Church of to-morrow.

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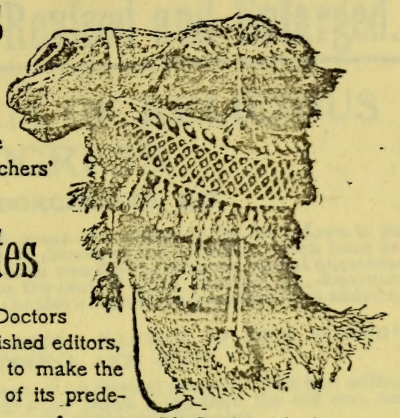

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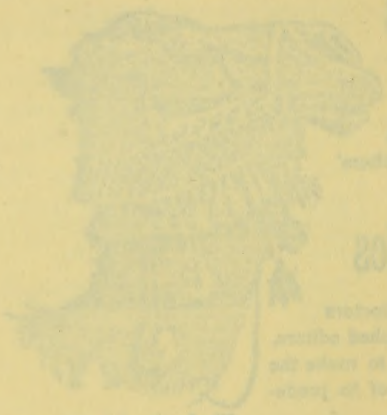

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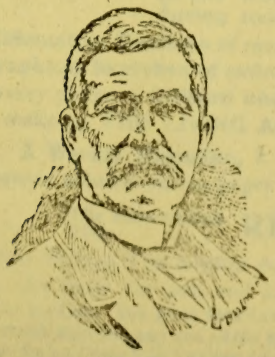

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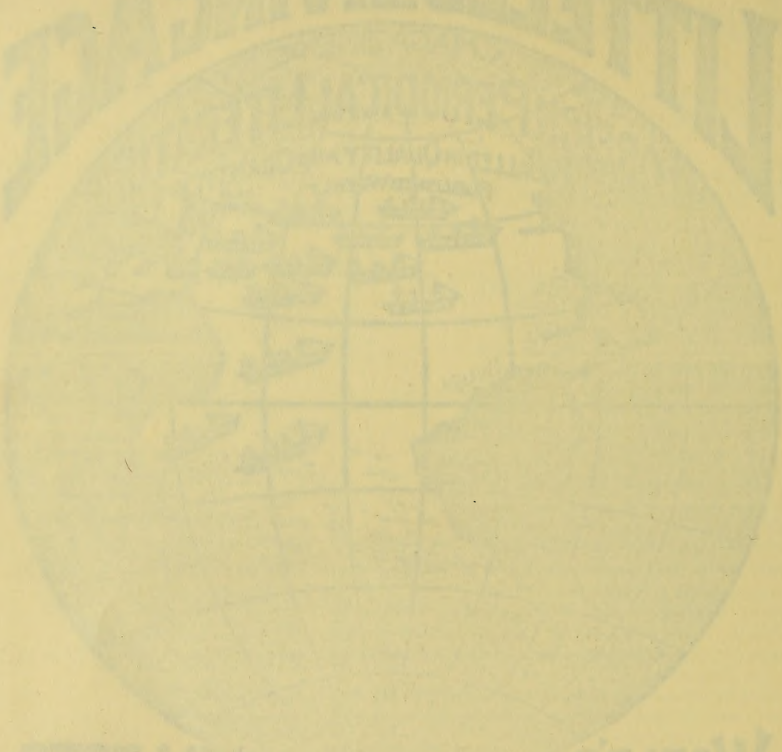
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